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AESCHYLUS

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AESCHYLUS

AGAMEMNON

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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SIXTH EDITION, REVISED

PART I—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

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PREFACE TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

In this edition the text has been carefully revised, and the apparatus criticus slightly remodelled, in preparation for an edition of the text of Aeschylus to be published in the new Classical Texts issued by the Oxford University Press.

The critical notes (at the foot of the pages) are somewhat fuller. Several further corrections have been admitted, which were in some cases previously rejected but now on further consideration are preferred; others which have been recently suggested are now adopted. In a few cases I have mentioned in the notes conjectures which have much to recommend them, but which I did not venture to include in the text. The method of referring to the MSS. has been somewhat modified, to make it clearer and more uniform. It is fully explained at the end of the Introduction (p. xxii): and a list of MSS. and editions, used or referred to, is given pp. xix–xxi. The Argument and Dramatis Personae are prefixed, as they appear in the Medicean MS.

On one point a word of explanation is required. In the revised text I have followed the best recent editions in adopting the form *Κλυταιμήστρα*. The evidence for this form is very strong: and in particular (as will be seen from a note to the Dramatis Personae) the Medicean has this form thirty-one times, *Κλυταιμνήστρα* only once. In the English Notes and Introduction I have judged it best to retain the more familiar Klytaemnestra.

In preparing this edition I have received help not only

from many of the works previously mentioned, but from others which have appeared since the last revision. Among these three may be particularly named: Wecklein's Orestie (which contains many suggestions that were not in the critical edition of 1885); Professor Campbell's text, published in the Parnassus Library; and the admirably executed photographic reproduction of the Medicean MS., published by the authorities of the Laurentian Library, under the auspices of the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction. To this facsimile is prefixed a preface by Professor Rostagno, containing a full historical and critical account of the MSS.

I wish to add a word of thanks to Mr. F. C. Ford, Mr. A. O. Prickard, and Professor Lock, Warden of Keble College, for criticisms, corrections, and suggestions most kindly communicated.

Note to Sixth Edition. I have again revised the Text, Notes, and Indices, &c., and corrected a good many minor errors; but no substantial alterations have been made. I owe the detection of these errors largely to Mr. K. Deighton, who with the greatest kindness sent the results of a most careful revision.

A. S.

OXFORD, *January*, 1905.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

The Oresteia.

The Agamemnon is one of a set of three plays which all dealt with the same story, each constituting as it were one act of a great drama. Such sets were called trilogies, and according to the ordinary theory were acted on the same occasion, and were usually followed by a fourth play of a lighter cast (called Satyric dramas, from the Satyr or attendant of Dionysos, which originally was a leading part in it): the whole four being called a tetralogy. The subject of the Satyric play in this instance is traditionally recorded to have been 'Proteus.' The Agamemnon relates the return and murder of the king (the Crime); in the second play, the Choëphoroe, Orestes comes back and slays his mother Klytaemnestra (the Vengeance); while in the third, the Eumenides, the matricide is released from the furies who have pursued him, and acquitted by divine interposition before the Areiopagos at Athens (the Reconciliation). About the Proteus we know nothing[1].

The date of the Agamemnon is given as B.C. 458, and the poet won the first prize.

The presumable division of parts is as follows in the Agamemnon:—

Chief actor or Protagonist: Klytaemnestra.
Second actor or Deuteragonist: Kassandra.
Third actor or Tritagonist: Agamemnon.
Watchman, Herald, Aegisthos, divided among the others.
Chorus of Argive elders.

[1] Except three fragmentary lines and a few words, preserved by grammarians and scholiasts, and printed among the fragments of Aeschylus.

The Story and the Plot of the Agamemnon.

The story is the return and murder of Agamemnon by Klytaemnestra his wife, aided by her lover Aegisthos; Agamemnon is accompanied by a captive, the princess and prophetess Kassandra, and she is murdered by the same hands at the same time. The story is as old as Homer, and Aeschylus gives it, as will be seen below, with some differences.

The action of the play in detail is as follows:—

Agamemnon has been absent for ten years at Troy. Meanwhile his wife Klytaemnestra has been ruling Argos (not Mykenae, see note on line 1), in conjunction with her lover Aegisthos. The news of the capture of Troy is daily expected, and the play opens with the appearance of the night-watchman on the roof, waiting (as he has been for a year past) for the beacon fire which is to announce the victory. While the watchman is complaining of his troubles, the flame flashes out, and he goes to tell his mistress (Prologue). The chorus enter and sing; meanwhile the queen comes out, and is seen lighting the altar fires and preparing for a festal display in honour of the event. The leader of the chorus learns from her the tidings, and after describing the beacon-race, she imagines the scene in Troy, and expresses a hope that all will end well (Scene 1). After another choric song the Herald appears, who describes, first, the sufferings before Troy, and, finally, the storm which scattered the fleet; the queen sends by him a welcome to her lord (Scene 2). In Scene 3 Agamemnon returns, with Kassandra; Klytaemnestra greets her lord, and persuades him to step into the palace over purple carpets. In Scene 4 the queen orders in Kassandra, but as the prophetess sits mute and disregards her, she retires. Kassandra then delivers herself of her visions, and announces the murder of the king and of herself. The groans are heard behind the scenes; the doors open, and Klytaemnestra is seen with the dead. She justifies her deed, and afterward Aegisthos comes forth and exults; and just as the Argives are about to assail him, the queen steps in and stays the tumult.

Earlier Versions of the Story.

The earliest version of the story must be gathered from the following passages in Homer[1]:—

[1] Quoted from the beautiful translation by Butcher and Lang.

(1) Od. i. 35. 'Even as of late Aegisthos, beyond that which was ordained, took to him the wedded wife of Atreides, and killed her lord on his return, and that with sheer doom before his eyes, since we [the gods, Zeus is speaking] had warned him by the mouth of Hermes . . . that he should neither kill the man nor woo his wife. For from Orestes shall there be vengeance for Atreides so soon as he shall come to man's estate and long for his own country. So spake Hermes, yet he prevailed not on the heart of Aegisthos.'

(2) Od. iii. 263. '[Aegisthos] living in peace in the heart of Argos . . . spake oftentimes to the wife of Agamemnon and tempted her. Verily at the first she would none of the foul deed, the fair Klytaemnestra, for she had a good understanding. Moreover there was with her a minstrel, whom the son of Atreus straitly charged as he went to Troy to have a care of his wife. But when at last the doom of the gods bound her to her ruin, then did Aegisthos carry the minstrel to a lonely isle, and left him there to be the prey and spoil of birds; while, as for her, he led her to his house, a willing lover with a willing lady . . . . . [304] and for seven years he ruled over Mykenae, rich in gold, after he slew the son of Atreus, and the people were subdued unto him. But in the eighth year came upon him goodly Orestes back from Athens to be his bane, and slew the slayer of his father.'

(3) Od. iv. 521. 'Then verily did Agamemnon set forth with joy upon his country's soil, ... and the watchman spied him from his tower, whom crafty Aegisthos had led and posted there, promising him for a reward two talents of gold. Now he kept watch for a year, lest Agamemnon should pass by him when he looked not, and mind him of his wild prowess. So he went to the house to bear the tidings to the shepherd of the people. And straightway Aegisthos contrived a cunning treason. He chose out twenty of the best men in the township, and set an ambush, and on the further side of the hall he bade prepare a feast. Then with chariot and horses he went to bid to the feast Agamemnon, shepherd of the people: but caitiff thoughts were in his heart. He brought him up to his house all unwitting of his doom, and when he had feasted him, slew him, as one slayeth an ox at the stall. And none of the company of Atreides were left, nor any of the men of Aegisthos, but they were all killed in the halls.'

(4) Od. xi. 409. [Shade of Agamemnon speaks.] 'Aegisthos slew me, with the aid of my accursed wife . . . . after he had bidden me to his house . . . . Even so I died, and round me my company likewise were slain without ceasing . . . . And most pitiful of all, I heard the voice of the daughter of Priam, of Kassandra, whom the traitorous Klytaemnestra slew hard by me; but as for me, as I strove to raise my hands I dropped them to the earth as I lay dying . . . . Naught is more shameless than a woman who imagines such evil in her heart, even as she too planned a foul deed, fashioning death for her gentle lord.'

Modifications of the Story.

It will be seen not only that the tale, as Aeschylus gives it, is different in many particulars from the Homeric story, but also that in the different passages of the Odyssey different versions seem to have been current; or at least it is possible to trace a development of the mythus.

In Homer it is *Aegisthos* who does the murder, either alone, as (1) seems to imply, or by an ambuscade, as (3) tells us. Also Aegisthos is not in Agamemnon's palace: he took Klytaemnestra to his own house (2): and there entertained the king (3), and there murdered him. Aegisthos' motive is not mentioned, but seems to be mere ambition.

Klytaemnestra in (1), (2), and (3) is not said to have had anything to do with the murder, but is only described as unfaithful: while in (4) she 'planned the foul deed,' and 'aided' the murderer, and herself killed Kassandra.

The '*minstrel*' who watched over the wife appears in (2) only and is nowhere else alluded to.

Kassandra appears only in (4).

In Aeschylus *Aegisthos* is only secondary in the murder: he is 'a recreant lion wallowing in the couch.' The motive which he alleges is vengeance, arising out of family feuds.

Klytaemnestra is the leading agent: she is the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ who devises and executes: and her motive too is vengeance for her child's death, with a touch of jealousy for Kassandra. Of a feast or ambuscade Aeschylus knows nothing: the king is muffled in a cloak and stabbed in a bath. And there is no battle of attendants.

The *Watchman* in Aeschylus, though, like the Homeric guard in (3), 'he has watched for a year,' is not a spy of Aegisthos watching to catch Agamemnon, but a loyal servant[1] who grieves over the disorders of the house, is watching for the *beacon*, and is overjoyed at the thought of seeing his master. And the murder takes place in the palace of Agamemnon.

Besides these there are minor modifications of the story. The confusion of Argos and Mykenae is mentioned in notes on line 1. In Homer too *Menelaos*[2] is king of Sparta and has nothing to do with the Agamemnon tale: in Aeschylus he is clearly joint-king of Argos with Agamemnon (42 sqq.). The chorus inquire for him, and call him 'loved ruler of the land' (619). The two are 'one in heart,' a 'two-throned power of the Achaioi' (109), and live in the same palace, called δόμος Ἀτρειδᾶν (400). This accounts for the anxious inquiry of the chorus (617), and the re-assurance given by the herald (675) about Menelaos.

The Drama of the Agamemnon.

How far Aeschylus was following current modifications in the story, and how far he himself modified the tradition for dramatic purposes, we cannot fully tell: nor is the subject one of great importance. It is of far greater interest to notice briefly some of the points that contribute to the extraordinary impressiveness of the poem as a work of art and as a drama.

Of Aeschylus' style it is not necessary to say much: every reader will feel its beauty and power. The principal characteristics of it are obviously its dignity, its strength, and the boldness and wealth of its imagery[3]: and though there are passages in the Agamemnon which are bare, even in bareness it is grand; and on the other hand there are passages which for tenderness and pathos and pure poetic beauty are unmatched even in Greek.

[1] This explains a curious note at the beginning of the Medicean manuscript, θεράπων Ἀγαμέμνονος, οὐχ ὁ ὑπὸ Αἰγίσθου ταχθείς.

[2] This is remarked by Prof. Campbell in American Journal of Phil., Dec. 1880.

[3] Thus he speaks of 'the beard of fire,' 'war the gold-merchant,' a hurricane as 'an evil shepherd,' the sea 'flowering with dead,' a lion 'the Priest of Ruin,' 'the net of death,' 'the mixing bowl of wrath,' 'the raging Dam of Hades,' hope 'treading the halls of Fear.'

Such are the descriptions of Iphigeneia in the first chorus, of Helen in the second, and the whole scene with Kassandra. We have, too, much relief in the variety of the characters; and even a touch of humour here and there, as in the helplessness of the Argive elders after the murder [1], and the racy vernacular idiom of the φύλαξ.

Another point is the marvellous power of conception shown in the two leading figures, Klytaemnestra and Kassandra, as is more fully developed below in treating of the characters (p. xiv).

But the effect of the play is largely due to another element, which is quite independent of the grandeur of the style, and the power of presenting character. And this element is what we may call the moralising of the plot. In Homer we have merely a tale of savage ambition and crime. In Aeschylus we have a house tainted with dreadful wickedness in the past, old sin leading to new sin, and that to further retribution, till the family seems haunted by a terrible fate of bloodshed. According to the later tale, Pelops, the ancestor, slew Myrtilus, by whose aid he won his bride: Atreus and Thyestes, his sons, slew their step-brother Chrysippos: Thyestes seduced his brother's wife Aerope. Atreus served up the slain children of Thyestes for their father to eat: Atreus' son Agamemnon banished Thyestes and his third son Aegisthos, and slew his own daughter Iphigeneia. Aeschylus only mentions the last three of these crimes: but the bloody past is present in his thoughts. And what gives the play its overwhelming effect is the feeling, ever growing, of this past horror and impending retribution. The 'House knows the many deeds of blood:' and the Avenger is always waiting. The justice of the gods may be slow, but it is sure.

This feeling is chiefly aroused and maintained by the choric songs, which will be found analysed below, p. xvii. For, by the necessities of the case, it is the chorus who have to hint the bloodguiltiness of the king. The queen, who is to avenge the deed, cannot charge him with it, since, in order to execute her plot, she must maintain the mask of love and faithfulness [2]. And

[1] The contrast between the decisiveness of the heroic personages and the imbecility of the council reveals a glimpse of the anti-democratic tendencies of the poet.

[2] Enger, Preface to Agamemnon.

accordingly these choric songs are not merely splendid lyric poems, they are also as it were the voice of the general conscience sadly foreboding inevitable doom. In the eloquent words of a French critic [1]: 'The idea of impending chastisement is incessantly repeated; it mingles with the joy of victory; a dark cloud, big with the storm, covers the gloomy scene; till the dream, so wearing and so terrible, filled with visions so fearful and mysterious, ends with a peal of thunder.'

The Moral and Religious Ideas.

The leading religious and moral ideas of Aeschylus, as they appear in the Agamemnon, can be summarised in a few sentences.

There is unquestioning faith in the gods: impiety, τὸ δυσσεβές, is the worst of sins (760). The gods are all powerful: Zeus is beyond compare (162), the cause of all and the doer of all (1485). The gods regard men's actions (370), punish transgression (59), avenge bloodshed (461), though the retribution may linger (364).

The leading idea of the gods is their power: human sin comes from resisting or defying this power, ὕβρις (765). The gods are also just: but the justice is a form of their power; it is the humbling of the proud. So wealth is no defence to the wicked (381), and virtue is found among men in humble dwellings (772).

The cruder idea that God resents mere prosperity, he rejects (755): misery always comes from sin (760). Yet prosperity is dangerous, as it engenders pride (372): mortals are insatiate of wealth (1002, 1331) and so come to ill. For human well-being is precarious: 'Disease is behind the party-wall,' and there is always 'the hidden reef' (1002–5). The thunderbolt strikes the famous (470).

Man then who has sinned cannot escape: the doer must suffer' (1564). And in this way God teaches man: 'wisdom comes by suffering' (177).

Aeschylus feels strongly the mysteriousness of human fate and the helplessness of man. Though the gods are omnipotent and just, yet this justice acts inscrutably. Agamemnon was bidden to slay his child, and had to obey (206); yet it was a crime (219–221),

[1] Patin, Étude sur Eschyle.

and produced 'terrible wrath,' rising again (154). It was to the king 'the collar of necessity' (218). In this way there is a fate, an avenger, established in the house (1481, 1507), the house is 'close welded to ruin' (1565). The refrain of human life is the prayer, 'Woe: but let good prevail,' which recurs in the first chorus: and the conclusion of the whole matter is 'it is hard to discern,' δύσμαχά ἐστι κρῖναι (1561).

THE CHARACTERS.

Klytaemnestra. The character of Klytaemnestra is given with a masterly force and effect in every stroke. There are no fine shades about the drawing, as there are none in the conception. She is the impersonation of the tyrannic self-will, wronged and angered, and turned to vengeance. She is Homer's οὐλομένη ἄλοχος, 'an accursed wife:' pitiless, and contemptuous, and unimpassioned, but resolutely bent on revenge, and concentrating her whole Titanic force upon it without misgiving[1]. There is no womanly passion in her, and no trace of weakness. The murder she is bent on is in revenge for her slain child, but we hear scarcely a word of love[2] for Iphigeneia from her lips: the lovely description of the maiden in her father's halls is from the mouth of the chorus; but the mother scarcely mentions her save in the climax of her bitter triumph, when with dreadful irony she pictures her welcoming her sire in Hades (1555). She is an adulteress, but there is no love for her paramour; her unfaithfulness is merely a form of her vengeance: hatred of her husband is the motive of it, not love of Aegisthos. She is crafty, but hers is the craft of a strong and not a weak nature: it is only the needful means to carry out her purpose completely, and the moment the need is over, the mask is scornfully flung aside.

Let us briefly trace her attitude through the play.

In scene 2 she enters (264) in apparent triumph: but of course the joy is not over the fall of Troy, it is merely grim delight in the coming vengeance. There is irony in her first word εὐάγ-

[1] One leading difference between Klytaemnestra and her great rival Lady Macbeth lies in the difference of the effect of the crime upon the two. Klytaemnestra is unshaken: Lady Macbeth is broken by it.

[2] She does call her φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ ὠδῖνα: but this is in a passing justification, and is not really dwelt on by the poet.

γελος. There is a savage force in her long description of the beacons (281), and the state of Troy (320): she is acting a part all through. And there is a deep irony in her hope (347) 'that no evil desire might bring woe on the host: old ills might wake!'

In scene 3 she scornfully banters the chorus (590) for having doubted her report: and she ends with the terrible prayer, 'May he find a faithful wife, ay, even as he left her' (606).

In scene 4, when she meets her returning husband, she keeps up unflinchingly the part she is acting. She poses audaciously as the chaste matron who does not speak of her wifely love before others (856): laments the loneliness of her lot in her lord's absence (861): half withdraws the mask to jest about the reported wounds of Agamemnon (868), then enlarges on her tears and watchings (888): and describes her joy at his return in fulsome images (896). This masterly speech ends with the thrilling line 'That justice may lead him to an unlooked for home,' and an ambiguous promise that she will 'order aright what is fated' (910–12).

Then follows the effective irony of Agamemnon entering 'the human slaughter-house' over purple carpets.

After the next chorus she has a short scene (sc. 5) with the speechless Kassandra, showing herself as the contemptuous and pitiless tyrant (1055–1068).

In scene 6 the deed is done and she boasts of it, 'I stand where I struck the blow: the deed is done.' We observe her grim talk of decorum (!), which prevents her from pouring libations of triumph (1395), her total disregard of the opinions others have of her act, 'the blame or praise is all one to me' (1403), and her bitter triumph over Kassandra (1440), savouring characteristically far more of contempt than of jealousy.

In the κομμός her cold irony and hardness reaches a climax. She calls herself the Avenger of the House (1500): vents the fearful sarcasm about Iphigeneia mentioned above (1555): and ends with a calm resolve, as though she were the victim and not the criminal, to 'bear her troubles' and a wish for 'a quiet life and a humble competence!' (1574).

In the last scene, true to herself, she just interposes at the end to stop the brawling between Aegisthos and the Chorus: 'We have had enough of trouble,' and to lead off her lover, bidding him not mind 'the vain howlings' of the Chorus.

Kassandra. Kassandra is not strictly speaking a study of *character* at all: the interest comes from her situation, and the extraordinary picturesqueness and impressiveness of the figure she presents. If the object of tragedy is to arouse 'pity and terror' there is no more supremely tragic figure than Kassandra in all the Greek drama.

She comes on, silent and wild-glancing ('like a new-caught beast,' 1063) in the car of Agamemnon. She is a princess, a prophetess, and a captive. She sits motionless on the stage during the long scene between Agamemnon and Klytaemnestra (810–974), and the choric song (975–1034), and hears the queen's reiterated scornful commands without a word of answer. When Klytaemnestra is gone, she replies to the kind and pitying tones of the chorus first with wild exclamations, then with cries of horror, growing slowly more articulate and clear, against the crime-defiled house before her. Then the past deeds of blood rise before her in visions each more startling than the last, till the climax is reached in the terrible ἰδοὺ ἰδού· ἄπεχε τῆς βοὸς τὸν ταῦρον (1125): after which she passes into tender and sad laments of her own fate. Then she sinks from the excited lyric dochmiacs to 'clear prophecy' in the ordinary iambic metre, broken by two spasms of inspiration. Next follows the splendid soliloquy (1255), when she hurls to the ground the badges of her prophetic office, the sacred staff and chaplets; and finally, after one more prophecy of the Retribution of Orestes, she utters the saddest of all laments over human destiny—

> 'Alas for mortal lot! when prosperous
> 'tis but a sketch! and if misfortune comes,
> the wet sponge with its touch blots out the drawing;'

and so passes under the blood-stained portal to her death.

Agamemnon. Though the king gives his name to the play, and though he is in one sense the central figure, he only appears in one short scene. But that suffices for the poet's purpose. Agamemnon is the victorious heroic monarch, returning in triumph to the house which is to be 'a human slaughter-house:' and all that is wanted is what we have, the stately procession, the thanksgiving, the greeting interchanged with his wife, the natural Greek misgiving at the needless waste and display of the purple tapestries, and the royal graciousness with which after a

brief resistance he gives way to Klytaemnestra's wish. The irony of the situation is brought fully out; even down to the minor touches, such as his bitter words about false friends (837) when he is thinking of the Greeks before Troy, and ignorant of the faithlessness of his wife: and again the almost pathetic futility of his pious caution in taking off his shoes (945), when at last he agrees to tread the purple.

Aegisthos is but the 'recreant lion wallowing in the couch' (1224), or again, 'the wolf that mated with the lioness' (1259), as Kassandra calls him: or, in the rough vernacular of the chorus, 'a cock proud before his hen' (1671). He simply comes on to tell the tale of blood (1577), and to boast the deed he has not dared to do. He is an effective foil to the queen; especially at the very end, where Aegisthos blusters and threatens the chorus, whom Klytaemnestra treats with cold and distant scorn. 'Care not for the vain howls of these men: thou and I will rule the house and order it well.' In his case, as in the queen's, vengeance is given as the motive for his plot.

The Watchman forms an effective opening to the play, with the contrast between the rough and almost humorous homeliness of his speech and the terrible drama that impends: but enough is said of him in the notes, see **17**.

The Herald performs the usual office of the ἄγγελος, varying the drama with a fine description of the shipwreck (650). His appearance also serves to heighten the suspense and darken the forebodings.

The Choric Songs.

The full analysis of the choric songs will be found in the notes: but it is desirable to take a general view of them, in order to see their dramatic effect.

(1) 40-257. The chorus do not yet know the good news of the capture: and in this first song they tell the tale of the mustering of the fleet for Troy, the sign of the eagles and the hare, and the adverse gales, and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. The opening thought is 'the gods are just, and must punish the sin of Paris' (59 sqq.). But the hope is mixed with fear (100) and the refrain (121, 139, 159) echoes the mingled feelings. They cannot shake off the thought that the slaughter of the maiden must bring woe: 'it is a lawless sacrifice, a seed of strife' (152): 'the wrath remains terribly doomed to return' (155): Zeus

'teaches men by suffering' (176). And the whole description of the sacrifice (205–246) with its terrible pathos and beauty is meant to enhance the horror of the crime. The song ends with an awful foreboding, based on a sure belief in justice (250): the future is so dark that it is folly to look forward: 'too early knowledge is too early sorrow' (252).

A strain of deep faith runs through it all. 'Zeus is beyond compare' (163), and Retribution is sure.

(2) 355–487. The news has now come of the victory, and we expect a song of joy.

But the tone of the Chorus is again rather a praise of justice which punishes crime. It is the crime of Paris of which they speak chiefly: but one feels all through that there are other sins in the singer's mind which shall also be punished: and at the end there is a clear note of misgiving for Agamemnon on a new ground, namely because he has caused the death of so many warriors.

The description of the wrecked happiness of the home, where the wife has been faithless, and of the horrors of war, as shown in the slaughter of citizens and the consequent wide-spread mourning, are both written with a modern intensity and sympathy, which seem remarkably in advance of ordinary Greek sentiment; quite apart from their imperishable beauty.

(3) 681–809. The messenger has come and confirmed the tidings with details of the victory: but significantly the tale ends with disaster: the returning fleet was wrecked.

The Chorus again dwell on the Retribution to those who wronged Hospitality: the beauty of Helen (which is described in lines of unspeakable loveliness, 740–3) only brings into sharper contrast the curse which came with her: like a lion's whelp, a cherished plaything, grown into a ravager of flocks.

At the end is a remarkable passage, in which the poet repudiates the common Greek doctrine of *φθόνος*, which taught that man's prosperity roused the envy of the gods and so brought disaster. 'No,' says Aeschylus, 'it is not Prosperity, but always *sin*, violence, injustice that brings woe.'

Again the application is apparently to Paris: again we feel that the sin of Agamemnon is present in the thought.

(4) 975–1034. The king has returned, been greeted, and entered the palace in triumph over the purple tapestry. The success is apparently complete.

The choric song is however one long foreboding of ill: a foreboding 'which they cannot explain, but cannot dismiss' (975–80). But the reason comes out: the sin is there, and so there is no safety. 'The black and murdered blood once shed who can recall?' (1019). They can only take refuge in vague and feeble hopes. One feels impending calamity in the very air.

(5) 1072–1177. In this astonishing scene we have the inspired Kassandra and her visions of past and impending deeds of blood. But this is fully explained in the notes, and the chorus has only a secondary part to play: and accordingly we may pass on.

(6) 1448–1576. The deed has been done: the foreboding is fulfilled, and the chorus in despair can only pray for death, and lament the woe that Helena caused. There is a Fate on the house (1467), it is the will of Heaven, of Zeus (1485): and when the queen urges that it is the requital for the murder of Iphigeneia (the very deed which the chorus all through had expected to bring woe) they can only express sad perplexity: the justice, if it be justice, will demand yet another victim: the blood is falling ever faster (1534). And they end with again striking the note of Justice: 'it is the will of God that the doer shall suffer' (1563).

The Manuscripts.

The MSS. which contain the Agamemnon, the whole or part, are as follows:—

A. *The Medicean Group.*

1. M. Much the oldest and most important is the *Medicean*, in the library of Lorenzo dei Medici at Florence, written on parchment in the 10th or 11th century; a photographic facsimile of this has been published by the Italian Ministry of Public Instruction. The MS. contains Agamemnon 1–310, and 1067–1159, the middle and end of the play being lost.

2. G. *Guelferbytanus*, at Wolfenbüttel, written on paper in the 15th century, contains the same parts of the Agamemnon as M., of which it is clearly a copy. It contains nearly all the mistakes of M., and many more of its own.

[3. Ma. *Marcianus* (once in the monastery of San Marco), now in the library of Lorenzo at Florence, written on paper in the

15th century, also clearly a copy of M., containing the same parts of the play. Not here quoted.]

4. B. *Bessarionis*, in the library of St. Mark at Venice, written on paper about the 13th century, containing Ag. 1–348: probably a copy of M. before the loss of the central leaves (Moritz Haupt, preface to Hermann, 1859).

The above form what we may call the Medicean group. The last three probably cannot be regarded as having any authority other than what they derive from M. Their differences from M. may pretty confidently be set down to error, or conjecture, or both.

B. *The Venetian Group.*

5. V. The *Venetian* (*Venetus* B), in the library of St. Mark at Venice, written on parchment in the 15th century, containing Ag. 1–45, and 1095 to end.

6. Fl. *Florentinus*, in the library of Lorenzo at Florence, written on paper in the 14th century, containing Agamemnon entire.

7. Fa. *Farnesianus* (once in the Farnese library), now in the Museum at Naples, written in the 14th century. It contains the revision of Demetrius Triclinius, who has done a good deal in the way of emendation, though often erroneously.

These three are obviously from a common origin, as the omissions in Eumenides show; moreover the great mass of variations from M. are common to the three. The exact relation of this group to the Medicean is not certain, but the authorities tend to agree in believing that they are founded either upon M. or upon a not remote ancestor of M.

In the critical notes the text of the Medicean *as originally written* is always quoted as M. But besides the original scribe, other hands appear in the MS. as follows:—

1. A contemporary hand, easily distinguished, which wrote the *scholia* (or Greek notes to the text) the *glosses* (or explanations of words between the lines), corrected the errors and supplied omissions of the first hand, added the Argument and Dramatis Personae, and occasionally inserted a query or a conjecture at the side. The corrections of this writer are important, as he evidently revised the work of the scribe, comparing it with another MS.: he was moreover clearly a more learned and careful person than the scribe. He is quoted always as m.

2. Later correctors (14th or 15th cent.) who are occasionally referred to, and are quoted as m_1.

As the MSS. are called by different names, and quoted by different letters, it may be useful to give the following table:—

M.	library	Florence,	no.	xxxii. 9	century	X–XI.
G.	„	Wolfenbüttel,	„	88	„	XV.
B.	„	Venice,	„	468 or xci. 4	„	XIII.
Fl.	„	Florence,	„	xxxi. 8	„	XIV.
Fa.	„	Naples,	„	I. E. S.	„	XIV.
V.	„	Venice,	„	616 or xci. 5	„	XV.

We have then the following abbreviations and signs used in the critical notes:—

M. the scribe or first hand of the Medicean.
m. the second hand, who revised the scribe's work.
m_1. later correctors.
G., B., V., Fl., Fa., the later MSS. described above. [Ma. is not quoted.]
rec. one of the later MSS. containing the passage.
recc. all (or most) of the later MSS.
codd. all (or most) of the MSS. including M.
⟨ ⟩ conjectural additions to the text.
[ ] words which should be omitted from the text.
† corrupt text not emended.

THE SCHOLIA.

Reference is made in both critical and explanatory notes to the Scholia, and it will be convenient to explain briefly both what they are and in what way they are available.

In the Medicean MS. by the side of the texts are written comments in Greek, called *Scholia*. They are in a small but clear hand, partly in capitals (*half-uncial*), while the text itself is written in *cursive*, that is in a running hand, in small letters, two or more letters being often closely connected and slightly contracted. The Scholia are by a different hand to that which wrote the text, and the authorities are agreed that they are mostly written, at the same time as the text, by the διορθωτής or scholar who corrected the errors made in the text by the professional scribe. Their value consists, both for text and comment, in their *age*. Their explanations are often wrong, but they not unfrequently contain valuable information dating back

to many centuries before our earliest MS. For textual criticism they are occasionally a great help, as they sometimes explain a *different* text to that which is by their side in the MS., and so may furnish evidence of an older and truer reading than the MS. itself. In any case they are always worth considering.

There is no very striking instance of this in the Agamemnon, but one example from Choephoroi may be quoted. In line 262 M. reads ἀπὸ σμικροῦ δαναρίας δόμον, where δαναρίας is not a word at all, and there is no sense. The Scholiast says δύνασαι ἀνοικοδομῆσαι, 'you can build up again': and this note suggested to the great French scholar Turnebus (1552) the true reading δ' ἂν ἄρειας, making the exact sense required.

The general opinion is that the best of these Scholia contain, along with other matter, fragments of learning about Aeschylus which can be traced back to the early Alexandrine scholars, and even with some probability to Didymus (called, from his extraordinary capacity for work, by the elegant name of Χαλκέντερος, or 'Copper-guts'), a great Alexandrine scholar of the first century B.C., of the school of Aristarchus.

It is plain, even allowing for the uncertainty of conjectures, that the evidence of readings contained in the Scholia may be centuries older than the MS. itself

The Editions.

The following is a list of the chief editions (*a*) of the whole seven plays; (*b*) of the Agamemnon:

(*a*) All the plays:—

- 1518 Aldine.
- 1552 Turnebus.
- 1552 Robortello.

(These give only the parts of Ag. found in M. In Ald. and Turn. the play is confused with Choephoroi. Rob. gives the two plays separate.)

- 1557 Victorius (Vettori). This is the first that gives Ag. whole.
- 1580 Canter.
- 1663 Stanley.
- 1745 Pauw.
- 1746 Askew.
- 1782 Schütz.
- 1794 Porson.
- 1794 Portus.
- 1809 Butler.
- 1823 Wellauer.
- 1825 Boissonade.
- 1827-69 W. Dindorf.
- 1828 Scholefield.
- 1831 Bothe.
- 1842 E. A. I. Ahrens.
- 1847-79 Paley.
- 1852 G. Hermann.
- 1852 Hartung.
- 1858 Weil.
- 1871 Merkel.
- 1880 Kirchhoff.
- 1885 Wecklein.

(*b*) Agamemnon separately:—

- 1816 G. Hermann (annotated Humboldt).
- 1822 Blomfield.
- 1822 Tyrwhitt.
- 1833 Klausen.
- 1837 Haupt.
- 1839 Schneider.
- 1844 Peile.
- 1846 Franz.
- 1848 Conington.
- 1855 Enger.
- 1856 Schneidewin.
- 1863 Nägelbach.
- 1863 Keck.
- 1864 Heusde.
- 1868 Davies.
- 1874 Gilbert.
- 1878 Kennedy.
- 1883 Hense (edited Schneidewin).
- 1884 Margoliouth.
- 1888 Wecklein (Orestie).

In addition to the above, corrections are occasionally quoted from Auratus, Casaubon, Scaliger, Dobree, Heath, Musgrave, and Madvig.

I use the common abbreviation L. S. for Liddell and Scott.

The Text.

From the list of MSS. given above it will be seen that the oldest and best is the Medicean (M.). Wherever the reading of this MS. differs from that adopted in the text, the fact is noted in the critical commentary, at the foot of the page. The only exception is in the case of minor errors of accent or spelling; and even these are noted where they seemed at all important. The later MSS. are quoted where important.

Where M. is wrong, and the reading adopted appears in all or most of the later MSS., I have not thought it necessary always to specify the latter, but have often used the term recc., i.e. recentiores. Thus, line 252:—

ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' recc.: ἐπιγένοιτ' M.

i.e. the Medicean reads ἐπιγένοιτ', but ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' is found in several later MSS.

Where M. and all or most of the later MSS. agree in an error, I use the term codd., i.e. codices. Thus line 77:—

ἀνᾴσσων Hermann: ἀνάσσων codd.

i.e. M. and the later MSS. have ἀνάσσων, but Hermann corrected it to ἀνᾴσσων.

Where M. is right, and the later MSS. (all or most) agree in an error, the fact is recorded; thus line 26:—

σημαίνω M.: σημανῶ recc.

Where M. and the later MSS. (all or most) are wrong, but the errors are different, both are recorded; thus line 110:—

ξύμφρονε ταγώ Dindorf: *ξύμφρονα τᾶν γᾶν* M.: *ταγάν* recc.

but frequently I have judged it sufficient, where the MSS. have different errors of no importance, to record only the reading of M.

Where neither MSS. nor proposed corrections are satisfactory, the passage is marked with †, as in 129, 803, &c.

Translations.

The Agamemnon has been done into English in nearly a score of translations. Those which I have consulted, and occasionally taken the liberty to quote, are the following; I give the abbreviations in italics, by which they are quoted in my notes:—

Professor Conington (*Con.*).
Miss Swanwick (*Swan.*).
Dean Milman (*Mil.*).
Mr. R. Browning (*Br.*).
Professor Kennedy (*Ken.*).
Mr. E. D. A. Morshead (*Mors.*).

The last is the one to which I owe most.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

Ἀγαμέμνων εἰς Ἴλιον ἀπιὼν τῇ Κλυταιμήστρᾳ, εἰ πορθήσοι τὸ Ἴλιον, ὑπέσχετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σημαίνειν διὰ τοῦ πυρσοῦ. ὅθεν σκοπὸν ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ μισθῷ Κλυταιμήστρα, ἵνα τηροίη τὸν πυρσόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰδὼν ἀπήγγειλεν, αὐτὴ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτῶν ὄχλον μεταπέμπεται, περὶ τοῦ πυρσοῦ ἐροῦσα· ἐξ ὧν καὶ ὁ χορὸς συνίσταται· οἵτινες ἀκούσαντες παιανίζουσιν. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ταλθύβιος παραγίνεται καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν διηγεῖται. Ἀγαμέμνων δ᾽ ἐπὶ ἀπήνης ἔρχεται· εἵπετο δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἑτέρα ἀπήνη, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ λάφυρα καὶ ἡ Κασάνδρα. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν προεισέρχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον σὺν τῇ Κλυταιμήστρᾳ, Κασάνδρα δὲ προμαντεύεται, πρὶν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια εἰσελθεῖν, τὸν ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος θάνατον, καὶ τὴν ἐξ Ὀρέστου μητροκτονίαν, καὶ εἰσπηδᾷ ὡς θανουμένη, ῥίψασα τὰ στέμματα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μέρος τοῦ δράματος θαυμάζεται ὡς ἔκπληξιν ἔχον καὶ οἶκτον ἱκανόν. ἰδίως δὲ Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀναιρεῖσθαι ποιεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κασάνδρας σιωπήσας θάνατον νεκρὰν αὐτὴν ὑπέδειξεν, πεποίηκέν τε Αἴγισθον καὶ Κλυταιμήστραν ἑκάτερον δυσχυριζόμενον περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἑνὶ κεφαλαίῳ, τὴν μὲν τῇ ἀναιρέσει Ἰφιγενείας, τὸν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς Θυέστου ἐξ Ἀτρέως συμφοραῖς.

Ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δρᾶμα ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Φιλοκλέους Ὀλυμπιάδι κ̅η̅ (ὀγδοηκοστῇ) ἔτει β̅. πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι, Χοηφόροις, Εὐμενίσι, Πρωτεῖ σατυρικῷ. ἐχορήγει Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδνεύς.

Argumentum] 2 ὑπέσχετο add. Fl 19 ὀγδοηκοστῇ Meursius

Τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα·

φύλαξ	χορός	[ἄγγελος]
Κλυταιμήστρα		[Ταλθύβιος] κῆρυξ
Ἀγαμέμνων	Αἴγισθος	Κασάνδρα

Dramatis personae] ἄγγελος et Ταλθύβιος seclusit Stanley [nomen Κλυταιμήστρα sic scriptum habet M his locis: in Agam. 84, 258, in argum. quater, in dram. pers. semel: in Choeph. 881, in scholiis septemdecies (22, 81, 304, 384, 418, 440 bis, 462 bis, 543, 600, 623, 634, 830, 836, 878, 956); in Eum. 94 (nota personae), in scholiis quater (94, 104, 361, 638) contra Κλυταιμνήστρα bis: Eum. 116; et ibidem in dram. person., ubi tamen ν recentiore manu insertum]

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ

ΦΥΛΑΞ

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων,
φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος, ἣν κοιμώμενος
στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην,
ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν,
καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι
[ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολάς τε τῶν].
καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον,
αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσαν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν
ἁλώσιμόν τε βάξιν· ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ
γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ.
εὖτ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἔνδροσόν τ' ἔχω
εὐνὴν ὀνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοπουμένην
ἐμήν· φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ,
τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ·
ὅταν δ' ἀείδειν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ,
ὕπνου τόδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,
κλαίω τότ' οἴκου τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων
οὐχ ὡς τὰ πρόσθ' ἄριστα διαπονουμένου.
νῦν δ' εὐτυχὴς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων

2 ἣν Fl V Fa: δ' ἣν M 7 seclusit Pauw 14 ἐμήν suspectum: τί μήν; Hermann, sed vide 1231–2 ἀνθ' ὕπνου] ἀντίπνους Wecklein 19 fort. δεσποτουμένου Dübner

εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός.
ὦ χαῖρε λαμπτὴρ νυκτός, ἡμερήσιον
φάος πιφαύσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν
πολλῶν ἐν Ἄργει, τῆσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν.
ἰοὺ ἰού.
Ἀγαμέμνονος γυναικὶ σημαίνω τορῶς
εὐνῆς ἐπαντείλασαν ὡς τάχος δόμοις
ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῇδε λαμπάδι
ἐπορθιάζειν, εἴπερ Ἰλίου πόλις
ἑάλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει·
αὐτός τ' ἔγωγε φροίμιον χορεύσομαι.
τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θήσομαι
τρὶς ἓξ βαλούσης τῆσδέ μοι φρυκτωρίας.
γένοιτο δ' οὖν μολόντος εὐφιλῆ χέρα
ἄνακτος οἴκων τῇδε βαστάσαι χερί.
τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ· βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ μέγας
βέβηκεν· οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι,
σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν· ὡς ἑκὼν ἐγὼ
μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ κοὐ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμου
μέγας ἀντίδικος,
Μενέλαος ἄναξ ἠδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,
διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκήπτρου
τιμῆς ὀχυρὸν ζεῦγος Ἀτρειδᾶν
στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύτην
τῆσδ' ἀπὸ χώρας
ἦραν, στρατιῶτιν ἀρωγήν,
μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἄρη
τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν, οἵτ' ἐκπατίοις
ἄλγεσι παίδων ὕπατοι λεχέων

26 σημαίνω M : σημανῶ recc. 30 ἀγγέλλων V Fa : ἀγγέλων M
40 Πριάμου V Fl Fa : Πριάμῳ M 49 fort. ἐκπάγλοις Blomfield

στροφοδινοῦνται
πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,
δεμνιοτήρη
πόνον ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες·
ὕπατος δ' ἀίων ἤ τις Ἀπόλλων
ἢ Πὰν ἢ Ζεὺς οἰωνόθροον
γόον ὀξυβόαν τῶνδε μετοίκων
ὑστερόποινον
πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν.
οὕτω δ' Ἀτρέως παῖδας ὁ κρείσσων
ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει ξένιος
Ζεὺς πολυάνορος ἀμφὶ γυναικὸς
πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοβαρῆ
γόνατος κονίαισιν ἐρειδομένου
διακναιομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις
κάμακος θήσων Δαναοῖσι
Τρωσί θ' ὁμοίως. ἔστι δ' ὅπη νῦν
ἔστι· τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον·
οὔθ' ὑποκαίων οὔθ' ὑπολείβων
οὔτε δακρύων ἀπύρων ἱερῶν
ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει.
ἡμεῖς δ' ἀτίται σαρκὶ παλαιᾷ
τῆς τότ' ἀρωγῆς ὑπολειφθέντες
μίμνομεν ἰσχὺν
ἰσόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκήπτροις.
ὅ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων
ἐντὸς ἀνᾴσσων
ἰσόπρεσβυς, Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἔνι χώρᾳ,
τό θ' ὑπέργηρων φυλλάδος ἤδη
κατακαρφομένης τρίποδας μὲν ὁδοὺς
στείχει, παιδὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρείων

69 ὑποκαίων Casaubon : ὑποκλαίων codd. 77 ἀνᾴσσων Hermann : ἀνάσσων codd. 79 τό θ' ὑπέργηρων Fa : τίθιπεργήρωσ M : τόθιπεργήρωσ B Fl

ὄναρ ἡμερόφαντον ἀλαίνει.
σὺ δέ, Τυνδάρεω
θύγατερ, βασίλεια Κλυταιμήστρα,
τί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ' ἐπαισθομένη,
τίνος ἀγγελίας
πευθοῖ περίπεμπτα θυοσκεῖς;
πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων,
ὑπάτων, χθονίων,
τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων,
βωμοὶ δώροισι φλέγονται·
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλοθεν οὐρανομήκης
λαμπὰς ἀνίσχει,
φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἁγνοῦ
μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις,
πελάνῳ μυχόθεν βασιλείῳ.
τούτων λέξασ' ὅ τι καὶ δυνατὸν
καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν,
παιών τε γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνης,
ἣ νῦν τοτὲ μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει,
τοτὲ δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἀγανὴ φαίνουσ'
ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπληστον
τῆς θυμοβόρου φρένα λύπης.

κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὅδιον κράτος αἴσιον ἀνδρῶν [στρ. α.
ἐκτελέων· ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνείει
πειθοῖ μολπᾶν
ἀλκὰν σύμφυτος αἰών·
ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν
δίθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἥβας

87 πευθοῖ Scaliger: πειθοῖ M: πυθοῖ Fl θυοσκεῖς Turnebus: θυοσκινεῖσ codd. 101 φαίνουσ' Fl Fa: φαίνεισ M: fort. φανθεῖσ' Pauw 103 τῆς θυμοβόρου φρένα λύπης Hermann: τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπησ φρένα M: τὴν θυμοβόρον λ. φ. Fl: fort. λύπης, θυμοφθόρον ἄτην H. L. Ahrens 106 πειθοῖ μολπᾶν ἀλκὰν Heller, Campbell: πειθὼ μολπὰν ἀλκὰν codd. (in M correctum ex μολπᾶν)

ξύμφρονε ταγώ,
πέμπει σὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι
θούριος ὄρνις Τευκρίδ' ἐπ' αἶαν,
οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς βασιλεῦσι νε-
ῶν ὁ κελαινός, ὅ τ' ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς,
φανέντες ἴκταρ μελάθρων
χερὸς ἐκ δοριπάλτου
παμπρέπτοις ἐν ἕδραισι,
βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν, ἐρικύμονα φέρματα, γένναν,
βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων.
αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

κεδνὸς δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο λήμασιν ἴσους [ἀντ. α.
Ἀτρεΐδας μαχίμους ἐδάη λαγοδαίτας
πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς·
οὕτω δ' εἶπε τεράζων·
'χρόνῳ μὲν ἀγρεῖ
Πριάμου πόλιν ἅδε κέλευθος,
πάντα δὲ πύργων
κτήνη †πρόσθε τὰ δημιοπληθῆ
Μοῖρ' ἀλαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον·
οἷον μή τις ἄγα θεόθεν κνεφά-
σῃ προτυπὲν στόμιον μέγα Τροίας
στρατωθέν. οἴκτῳ γὰρ ἐπί-
φθονος Ἄρτεμις ἁγνὰ
πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρὸς
αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόχου μογερὰν πτάκα θυομένοισι·
στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν.'
αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

110 ξύμφρονε ταγώ Dindorf: ξύμφρονα τᾶν γᾶν M: ταγάν recc. 111 καὶ χερὶ Ar. Ran. 1288: δίκας codd. 115 ἀργᾶς Blomfield: ἀργίασ M 119 ἐρικύμονα recc.: ἐρικύματα M φέρματα Hartung: φέρματι codd. 122 λήμασιν ἴσους Dindorf: λήμασι δισσοὺς codd. 129 πρόσθε τὰ Fl Fa: προσθετὰ M: utrumque suspectum 133 οἴκτῳ Scaliger: οἴκῳ codd.

τόσον περ εὔφρων, καλά, [μεσῳδ.
δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων
πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις
θηρῶν ὀβρικάλοισι τερπνά,
τούτων αἰνεῖ ξύμβολα κρᾶναι,
δεξιὰ μέν, κατάμομφα δὲ φάσματα [στρουθῶν].
ἰήιον δὲ καλέω Παιᾶνα,
μή τινας ἀντιπνόους
Δαναοῖς χρονίας ἐχενῇδας
ἀπλοίας τεύξῃ,
σπευδομένα θυσίαν ἑτέραν ἄνομόν τιν', ἄδαιτον
νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον,
οὐ δεισήνορα. μίμνει γὰρ φοβερὰ παλίνορτος
οἰκονόμος δολία μνάμων μῆνις τεκνόποινος.
τοιάδε Κάλχας ξὺν μεγάλοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀπέκλαγξεν
μόρσιμ' ἀπ' ὀρνίθων ὁδίων οἴκοις βασιλείοις·
τοῖς δ' ὁμόφωνον
αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

Ζεύς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὐ- [στρ. β.
τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,
τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω.
οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι
πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν
ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος
χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.

οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας, [ἀντ. β.
παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων,

141 δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς Wellauer: δρόσοισιν ἀέλπτοισ M: δ. ἀέπτοις B Fl fortasse ἄλπνοις Wecklein 144 αἰνεῖ Gilbert: αἰτεῖ codd. 145 στρουθῶν codd. corruptum: ἀνορθοῦν coni. Wecklein 156 ἀπέκλαγξεν recc.: ἀπέκλαιξεν M 165 τὸ μάταν Pauw: τόδε μάταν M

οὐδὲ λέξεται πρὶν ὤν·
ὃς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ, τρια-
κτῆρος οἴχεται τυχών.
Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως
ἐπινίκια κλάζων
τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν·

τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ- [στρ. γ.
σαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος
θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.
στάζει δ' ἔν θ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδίας
μνησιπήμων πόνος· καὶ παρ' ἄ-
κοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν.
δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βίαιος
σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.

καὶ τόθ' ἡγεμὼν ὁ πρέ- [ἀντ. γ.
σβυς νεῶν Ἀχαιικῶν,
μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων,
ἐμπαίοις τύχαισι συμπνέων,
εὖτ' ἀπλοίᾳ κεναγγεῖ βαρύ-
νοντ' Ἀχαιικὸς λεώς,
Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων παλιρρό-
χθοις ἐν Αὐλίδος τόποις·

πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι [στρ. δ.
κακόσχολοι, νήστιδες, δύσορμοι,
βροτῶν ἄλαι,
νεῶν ⟨τε⟩ καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς,
παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι
τρίβῳ κατέξαινον ἄνθος Ἄργους.

170 οὐδὲ λέξεται H. L. Ahrens: οὐδὲν λέξαι codd. 182 βίαιος Turnebus: βιαίως codd. 190 παλιρρόχθοις H. L. Ahrens: παλιρρόθοις codd. 195 νεῶν Pauw: ναῶν codd. τε add. Porson 197 Ἄργους Hermann: Ἀργείων codd.

ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πικροῦ
χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ
βριθύτερον πρόμοισιν
μάντις ἔκλαγξεν προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν, ὥστε χθόνα βά-
κτροις ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρείδας δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν·

ἄναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς τότ' εἶπε φωνῶν· [ἀντ. δ.
'βαρεῖα μὲν κὴρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,
βαρεῖα δ', εἰ
τέκνον δαΐξω, δόμων ἄγαλμα,
μιαίνων παρθενοσφάγοισι
ῥείθροις πατρῴους χέρας πρὸ βωμοῦ.
τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ κακῶν,
πῶς λιπόναυς γένωμαι
ξυμμαχίας ἁμαρτών;
παυσανέμου γὰρ θυσίας παρθενίου θ' αἵματος ὀρ-
γᾷ περιόργῳ σφ' ἐπιθυμεῖν θέμις. εὖ γὰρ εἴη.'

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδυ λέπαδνον [στρ. ε.
φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν
ἄναγνον, ἀνίερον, τόθεν
τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω.
βροτοὺς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις
τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων.
ἔτλα δ' οὖν θυτὴρ γενέ-
σθαι θυγατρός, γυναικοποί-
νων πολέμων ἀρωγὰν
καὶ προτέλεια ναῶν.

λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρῴους [ἀντ. ε.
παρ' οὐδὲν αἰῶνα παρθένειόν τ'

205 *τότ'* Stanley : *τόδ'* codd. 206 *πιθέσθαι* Turnebus : *πείθεσθαι* codd. 210 *ῥείθροις* Fa : *ῥεέθροισ* M : fort. *ῥοαῖς* Schömann *πρὸ βωμοῦ* Lindau : *βωμοῦ πέλας* codd. 215 *περιόργῳ σφ'* Bamberger : *περιόργως* codd. 222 *βροτοὺς* Spanheim : *βροτοῖσ* M

ἔθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς.
φράσεν δ' ἀόζοις πατὴρ μετ' εὐχὰν
δίκαν χιμαίρας ὕπερθε βωμοῦ
πέπλοισι περιπετῆ παντὶ θυμῷ
προνωπῆ λαβεῖν ἀέρ-
δην, στόματός τε καλλιπρῴ-
ρου φυλακᾷ κατασχεῖν
φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἴκοις,

βίᾳ χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδῳ μένει. [στρ. ζ.
κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα
ἔβαλλ' ἕκαστον θυτή-
ρων ἀπ' ὄμματος βέλει φιλοίκτῳ,
πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσεννέπειν
θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις
πατρὸς κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους
ἔμελψεν, ἁγνᾷ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδᾷ πατρὸς
φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὔποτμον
παιᾶνα φίλως ἐτίμα.

τὰ δ' ἔνθεν οὔτ' εἶδον οὔτ' ἐννέπω· [ἀντ. ζ.
τέχναι δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι.
Δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦ-
σιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει· τὸ μέλλον ⟨δ'⟩
ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις· πρὸ χαιρέτω·
ἴσον δὲ τῷ προστένειν.
τορὸν γὰρ ἥξει σύνορθρον αὐγαῖς.
πέλοιτο δ' οὖν τἀπὶ τούτοισιν εὖ πρᾶξις, ὡς

236 *φυλακᾷ* Blomfield : *φυλακὰν* codd. 245 *ἁγνᾷ . . . αὐδᾷ* recc. : *ἁγνὰ . . . αὐδὰ* M 247 *παιᾶνα* Hartung : *αἰῶνα* codd. 251 *δ'* add. Elmsley : post *μέλλον* habent *τὸ δὲ προκλύειν* m B G Fl, eiecit Fa 252 *ἐπεὶ γένοιτ'* recc. : *ἐπιγένοιτ'* M *πρὸ χαιρέτω* H. L. Ahrens : *προχαιρέτω* codd. 254 *σύνορθρον* Wellauer : *σύνορθον* M : *σύναρθρον* Fl Fa *αὐγαῖς* Hermann : *αὐταῖς* codd. 255 *εὖ πρᾶξις* Lobeck : *εὔπραξις* codd.

θέλει τόδ' ἄγχιστον Ἀπίας
γαίας μονόφρουρον ἕρκος.

ἥκω σεβίζων σόν, Κλυταιμήστρα, κράτος·
δίκη γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀρχηγοῦ τίειν
γυναῖκ' ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσενος θρόνου.
σὺ δ' εἴ τι κεδνὸν εἴτε μὴ πεπυσμένη
εὐαγγέλοισιν ἐλπίσιν θυηπολεῖς,
κλύοιμ' ἂν εὔφρων· οὐδὲ σιγώσῃ φθόνος.

ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΗΣΤΡΑ

εὐάγγελος μέν, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία,
ἕως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα.
πεύσει δὲ χάρμα μεῖζον ἐλπίδος κλύειν·
Πριάμου γὰρ ᾑρήκασιν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν.

Χο. πῶς φῄς; πέφευγε τοὔπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας.
Κλ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιῶν οὖσαν· ἦ τορῶς λέγω;
Χο. χαρά μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένη.
Κλ. εὖ γὰρ φρονοῦντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ.
Χο. τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; ἔστι τῶνδέ σοι τέκμαρ;
Κλ. ἔστιν· τί δ' οὐχί; μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ.
Χο. πότερα δ' ὀνείρων φάσματ' εὐπιθῆ σέβεις;
Κλ. οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάβοιμι βριζούσης φρενός.
Χο. ἀλλ' ἦ σ' ἐπίανέν τις ἄπτερος φάτις;
Κλ. παιδὸς νέας ὣς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας.
Χο. ποίου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις;
Κλ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τόδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.
Χο. καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος;
Κλ. Ἥφαιστος Ἴδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας.
φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς
ἔπεμπεν· Ἴδη μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμαῖον λέπας

261 εἴ τι Auratus: εἴτε codd. 272 τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; Prien: τί γάρ; τὸ πιστὸν M 274 εὐπιθῆ Blomfield: εὐπειθῆ ex εὐπειθεῖ factum M 282 ἀγγάρου ex Etym. Mag. Canter: ἀγγέλου codd.

Λῆμνον· μέγαν δὲ πανὸν ἐκ νήσου τρίτον
Ἀθῷον αἶπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο,
ὑπερτελής τε, πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι,
ἰσχὺς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονὴν
πέμπει τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ὥς τις ἥλιος,
σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπαῖς·
ὁ δ' οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφρασμόνως ὕπνῳ
νικώμενος παρῆκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος·
ἑκὰς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ' Εὐρίπου ῥοὰς
Μεσσαπίου φύλαξι σημαίνει μολόν.
οἱ δ' ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρήγγειλαν πρόσω
γραίας ἐρείκης θωμὸν ἅψαντες πυρί.
σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ' οὐδέπω μαυρουμένη,
ὑπερθοροῦσα πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ, δίκην
φαιδρᾶς σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνος λέπας
ἤγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός.
φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἠναίνετο
φρουρὰ προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα,
λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργῶπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος·
ὄρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον
ὤτρυνε θεσμὸν μηχανήσασθαι πυρός.
πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδαίοντες ἀφθόνῳ μένει
φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ
πορθμοῦ κάτοπτον πρῶν' ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω
φλέγουσαν, ἔστ' ἔσκηψεν, εὖτ' ἀφίκετο
Ἀραχναῖον αἶπος, ἀστυγείτονας σκοπάς·
κἄπειτ' Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τόδε σκήπτει στέγος

284 πανὸν ex Athen. (xv. 700 E) Casaubon: φανὸν codd. 288 πέμπει Enger: πεύκη codd. alii πεύκη τὸ emendant: ἐπέσυτο Koch: fort. ἐπᾶλτο 289 σκοπαῖς Turnebus: σκοπάς codd. 297 πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ recc.: παιδίον ὠποῦ M 301 προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα ex Hesychio huc rettulit Dindorf: πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων inepte codd. 304 μηχανήσασθαι Margoliouth: μὴ χαρίζεσθαι codd. 307 κάτοπτον Canter: κάτοπτρον codd. 308 ἔστ' . . . εὖτ' Hermann: εἶτ' . . . εἶτ' codd.

φάος τόδ' οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός.
τοιοίδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,
ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι·
νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.
τέκμαρ τοιοῦτο σύμβολόν τε σοὶ λέγω
ἀνδρὸς παραγγείλαντος ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί.

Χο. θεοῖς μὲν αὖθις, ὦ γύναι, προσεύξομαι.
λόγους δ' ἀκοῦσαι τούσδε κἀποθαυμάσαι
διηνεκῶς θέλοιμ' ἂν ὡς λέγοις πάλιν.

Κλ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.
οἶμαι βοὴν ἄμικτον ἐν πόλει πρέπειν.
ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐγχέας ταὐτῷ κύτει
διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν οὐ φίλως προσεννέποις.
καὶ τῶν ἁλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα
φθογγὰς ἀκούειν ἔστι συμφορᾶς διπλῆς.
οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες
ἀνδρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυταλμίων
παῖδες γερόντων οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου
δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον·
τοὺς δ' αὖτε νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος
νήστεις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὧν ἔχει πόλις
τάσσει, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἔσπασεν τύχης πάλον.
ἐν ⟨δ'⟩ αἰχμαλώτοις Τρωικοῖς οἰκήμασιν
ναίουσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων
δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαγέντες, ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες
ἀφύλακτον εὑδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.
εἰ δ' εὖ σέβουσι τοὺς πολισσούχους θεοὺς
τοὺς τῆς ἁλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἱδρύματα,

Versus 312–1067 e Med. cod. exciderunt: 312–348 testantur B Fl Fa, 349–1067 soli Fl Fa   312 *τοιοίδε τοί μοι* Schütz: *τοιοίδ' ἕτοιμοι* B Fa   319 *λέγοις* Fa Fl: *λέγεις* B   322 *ἐγχέας* Canter: *ἐκχέας* codd.   331 *νήστεις* Fa: *νῆστις* Fl   334 *δ'* add. Pauw   336 *δ' εὐδαίμονες* Stanley: *δυσδαίμονες* codd.   338 *εὖ σέβουσι* Scaliger: *εὐσεβοῦσι* codd.

οὔ τἂν ἑλόντες αὖθις ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν.
ἔρως δὲ μή τις πρότερον ἐμπίπτῃ στρατῷ
πορθεῖν ἃ μὴ χρή, κέρδεσιν νικωμένους.
δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστίμου σωτηρίας
κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν·
θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκητος εἰ μόλοι στρατός,
ἐγρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων
γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι κακά.
τοιαῦτά τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ κλύεις·
τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη, μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν.
πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τήνδ' ὄνησιν εἱλόμην.

Χο. γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα σώφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις.
ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια
θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὖ παρασκευάζομαι.
χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἴργασται πόνων.

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ καὶ νὺξ φιλία
μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα,
ἥτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες
στεγανὸν δίκτυον, ὡς μήτε μέγαν
μήτ' οὖν νεαρῶν τιν' ὑπερτελέσαι
μέγα δουλείας
  γάγγαμον, ἄτης παναλώτου.
Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι
τὸν τάδε πράξαντ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον, ὅπως ἂν
μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρων
  βέλος ἠλίθιον σκήψειεν.

Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν, [στρ. α.
πάρεστιν τοῦτό γ' ἐξιχνεῦσαι.

340 *οὔ τἂν ἑλόντες* Hermann: *οὐκ ἀνελόντες* B: *οὐκ ἄν γ' ἑλόντες* Fl Fa   *ἀνθαλοῖεν* Auratus: *ἂν θάνοιεν* B: *αὖ θάνοιεν* Fl Fa   341 *ἐμπίπτῃ*] *ἐμπίπτει* B: *ἐμπίπτοι* Fa: *ἐμπίπτη* mutatum in *ἐμπίπτοι* Fl   346 *ἐγρηγορὸς* Porson: *ἐγρήγορον* codd.   350 *τήνδ'* Hermann: *τὴν* codd.   368 *πάρεστιν* Hartung: *πάρεστι* codd.

ἔπραξαν ὡς ἔκρανεν. οὐκ ἔφα τις
θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι μέλειν
ὅσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις
πατοῖθ'· ὁ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβής.
πέφανται δ' ἐκτίνου-
σα τόλμα τῶν Ἄρη
πνεόντων μεῖζον ἢ δικαίως,
φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφευ
ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔστω δ' ἀπή-
μαντον, ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν
εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα.
οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἔπαλξις
πλούτου πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ
λακτίσαντι μέγαν Δίκας
βωμὸν εἰς ἀφάνειαν.

βιᾶται δ' ἁ τάλαινα πειθώ, [ἀντ. α.
προβούλου παῖς ἄφερτος ἄτας.
ἄκος δὲ πᾶν μάταιον. οὐκ ἐκρύφθη,
πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος·
κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον
τρίβῳ τε καὶ προσβολαῖς
μελαμπαγὴς πέλει
δικαιωθείς, ἐπεὶ
διώκει παῖς ποτανὸν ὄρνιν,
πόλει πρόστριμμ' ἄφερτον ἐνθείς.
λιτᾶν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν·
τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον τῶν
φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαιρεῖ.

369 ἔπραξαν Hermann : ὡς ἔπραξεν codd. 374 ἐκτίνουσα τόλμη τῶν Hartung : ἐγγόνους ἀτολμήτων codd. 379 ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν Fl : ὥστε κἀπαρκεῖν Fa 383 μέγαν Canter : μεγάλα codd. 386 προβούλου παῖς Hartung : προβουλόπαις codd. 391 τε om. Fl προσβολαῖς Pearson : προβολαῖς codd. 394 ποτανὸν Schütz : πτανὸν codd. 395 ἐνθεὶς Fa : θεὶς Fl 397 τῶν Klausen : τῶνδε codd. 398 φῶτα Δίκη Blomfield

οἷος καὶ Πάρις ἐλθὼν
ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀτρειδᾶν
ᾔσχυνε ξενίαν τράπε-
ζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός.

λιποῦσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστοράς [στρ. β.
τε καὶ κλόνους λογχίμους
ναυβάτας ⟨θ'⟩ ὁπλισμούς,
ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλίῳ φθορὰν
βέβακεν ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν
ἄτλητα τλᾶσα· πολλὰ δ' ἔστενον
τόδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφῆται·
'ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,
ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλάνορες.
πάρεστι σιγὰς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους
ἄλγιστ' ἀφημένων ἰδεῖν.
πόθῳ δ' ὑπερποντίας
φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.
εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί·
ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις
ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.

ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πενθήμονες [ἀντ. β.
πάρεισι δόξαι φέρου-
σαι χάριν ματαίαν.
μάταν γάρ, εὖτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὁρᾷ,
παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν,
βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον
πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῦσ' ὕπνου κελεύθοις.'

404 τε καὶ ante κλόνους H. L. Ahrens : post λογχίμους habent codd. 405 θ' add. Hermann 408 πολὺ δ' ἀνέστενον Fl 412 σιγὰς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους Hermann : σιγᾶσ ἄτιμοσ ἀλοίδοροσ codd. 413 ἄλγιστ' Enger : ἄδιστος codd. ἀφημένων Dindorf : ἀφεμένων codd. 423 ὁρᾷ Scholefield : ὁρᾶν codd. 426 ὀπαδοῦσ' Dobree : ὀπαδοῖς codd.

τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφ' ἑστίας ἄχη
τάδ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα.
τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' Ἕλλανος αἴας συνορμένοις
πένθεια τλησικάρδιος
δόμων ἑκάστου πρέπει.
πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἧπαρ·
οὓς μὲν γάρ ⟨τις⟩ ἔπεμψεν
οἶδεν, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν
τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἑκά-
στου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.

ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἄρης σωμάτων [στρ. γ.
καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορὸς
πυρωθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου
φίλοισι πέμπει βραχὺ
ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-
τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί-
ζων λέβητας εὐθέτους.
στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄν-
δρα τὸν μὲν ὡς μάχης ἴδρις,
τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'
ἀλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναι-
κός· τὰ δὲ σῖγά τις βαΰ-
ζει· φθονερὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἕρ-
πει προδίκοις Ἀτρείδαις.
οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τεῖχος
θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς
εὔμορφοι κατέχουσιν· ἐ-
χθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν.

βαρεῖα δ' ἀστῶν φάτις ξὺν κότῳ· [ἀντ. γ.

429 Ἕλλανος Bamberger: Ἑλλάδος codd. 430 fort. τηξικάρδιος (e gloss. in cod. Fa τήκουσα τὴν καρδίαν) Auratus 433 τις add. Porson 441 βραχὺ Schütz: βαρὺ codd. 444 εὐθέτους Auratus: εὐθέτου codd. 448 διαὶ Hermann: διὰ codd. 449 τὰ δὲ Hermann: τάδε codd.

δημοκράντου δ' ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος.
μένει δ' ἀκοῦσαί τί μου
μέριμνα νυκτηρεφές.
τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ
ἄσκοποι θεοί. κελαι-
ναὶ δ' Ἐρινύες χρόνῳ
τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας
παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾷ βίου
τιθεῖσ' ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' ἀΐ-
στοις τελέθοντος οὔτις ἀλ-
κά· τὸ δ' ὑπερκόπως κλύειν
εὖ βαρύ· βάλλεται γὰρ ὄσ-
σοις Διόθεν κεραυνός.
κρίνω δ' ἄφθονον ὄλβον·
μήτ' εἴην πτολιπόρθης
μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἁλοὺς ὑπ' ἄλ-
λων βίον κατίδοιμι.

πυρὸς δ' ὑπ' εὐαγγέλου [ἐπῳδ.
πόλιν διήκει θοὰ
βάξις· εἰ δ' ἐτήτυμος,
τίς οἶδεν, ἤ τι θεῖόν ἐστί πῃ ψύθος.—

τίς ὧδε παιδνὸς ἢ φρενῶν κεκομμένος,
φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν
νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἔπειτ'
ἀλλαγᾷ λόγου καμεῖν;—

[ἐν] γυναικὸς αἰχμᾷ πρέπει
πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.—

457 δημοκράντου Porson: δημοκράτου codd. 465 παλιντυχεῖ Scaliger: παλιντυχῆ codd. 468 ὑπερκόπως Grotius: ὑπερκότως codd. 475–502 inter choreutas hi vv. distribuendi: cf. ad 489 477 ἐτήτυμος Auratus: ἐτητύμως codd. 478 τι . . . πῃ H. L. Ahrens: τοι . . . μὴ codd. 483 ἐν seclusit Scaliger

πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὅρος ἐπινέμεται
ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον
γυναικογήρυτον ὄλλυται κλέος.—

τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων
φρυκτωριῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς,
εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὀνειράτων δίκην
τερπνὸν τόδ' ἐλθὸν φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας.
κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὁρῶ κατάσκιον
κλάδοις ἐλαίας· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις
πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε,
ὡς οὔτ' ἄναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίων φλόγα
ὕλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός,
ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων·
τὸν ἀντίον δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀποστέργω λόγον·
εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανεῖσι προσθήκη πέλοι.—

ὅστις τάδ' ἄλλως τῇδ' ἐπεύχεται πόλει,
αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

ἰὼ πατρῷον οὖδας Ἀργείας χθονός,
δεκάτῳ σε φέγγει τῷδ' ἀφικόμην ἔτους,
πολλῶν ῥαγεισῶν ἐλπίδων μιᾶς τυχών.
οὐ γάρ ποτ' ηὔχουν τῇδ' ἐν Ἀργείᾳ χθονὶ
θανὼν μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος.
νῦν χαῖρε μὲν χθών, χαῖρε δ' ἡλίου φάος,
ὕπατός τε χώρας Ζεύς, ὁ Πύθιός τ' ἄναξ,
τόξοις ἰάπτων μηκέτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς βέλη·
ἅλις παρὰ Σκάμανδρον ἦσθ' ἀνάρσιος·
νῦν δ' αὖτε σωτὴρ ἴσθι καὶ παιώνιος,

485 *ὅρος* suspectum, *ἔρος* Blomfield 489 Klytaemestrae notam, 501 chori, praefigunt codd.: totum choro dat Scaliger 511 *ἦσθ'* Askew : *ἦλθες* Fa : *ἦλθ'* (*εσ* suprascripto) Fl 512 *καὶ παιώνιος* Dobree : *καὶ παγώνιος* Fl : *κἀπαγώνιος* Fa

ἄναξ Ἄπολλον. τούς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς
πάντας προσαυδῶ, τόν τ' ἐμὸν τιμάορον
Ἑρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας,
ἥρως τε τοὺς πέμψαντας, εὐμενεῖς πάλιν
στρατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμμένον δορός.
ἰὼ μέλαθρα βασιλέων, φίλαι στέγαι,
σεμνοί τε θᾶκοι, δαίμονές τ' ἀντήλιοι,
εἴ που πάλαι, φαιδροῖσι τοισίδ' ὄμμασι
δέξασθε κόσμῳ βασιλέα πολλῷ χρόνῳ.
ἥκει γὰρ ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων
καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασι κοινὸν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ.
ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,
Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου
Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον.
βωμοὶ δ' ἄιστοι καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματα,
καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός.
τοιόνδε Τροίᾳ περιβαλὼν ζευκτήριον
ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ
ἥκει, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν
τῶν νῦν· Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελὴς πόλις
ἐξεύχεται τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον.
ὀφλὼν γὰρ ἁρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην
τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἥμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον
αὐτόχθονον πατρῷον ἔθρισεν δόμον.
διπλᾶ δ' ἔτισαν Πριαμίδαι θἀμάρτια.
Χο. κῆρυξ Ἀχαιῶν χαῖρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ.
Κη. χαίρω ⟨γε⟩· τεθνάναι δ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ θεοῖς.
Χο. ἔρως πατρῴας τῆσδε γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν.
Κη. ὥστ' ἐνδακρύειν γ' ὄμμασιν χαρᾶς ὕπο.
Χο. τερπνῆς ἄρ' ἦτε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσου.
Κη. πῶς δή; διδαχθεὶς τοῦδε δεσπόσω λόγου.

520 *εἴ που* Auratus : *ἦπου* codd. 522 *ὑμῖν*] *ἡμῖν* Fl 529 *τοιοῦδε* Fl 538–550 chori vv. Klytaemestrae dant codd. 539 *γε* add. Enger (*τεθνᾶναι* codd.) *οὐκέτ'* Fa : *οὐκ* Fl 541 *ἐκδακρύειν* Fa 542 *ἴστε* Fl

Χο. τῶν ἀντερώντων ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένοι.
Κη. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις.
Χο. ὡς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός ⟨μ'⟩ ἀναστένειν.
Κη. πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον τοῦτ' ἐπῆν στύγος φρενῶν;
Χο. πάλαι τὸ σιγᾶν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.
Κη. καὶ πῶς; ἀπόντων κοιράνων ἔτρεις τινάς;
Χο. ὡς νῦν τὸ σὸν δή, καὶ θανεῖν πολλὴ χάρις.
Κη. εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται. ταῦτα δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ
τὰ μέν τις ἂν λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν,
τὰ δ' αὖτε κἀπίμομφα. τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν
ἅπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δι' αἰῶνος χρόνον;
μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσαυλίας,
σπαρνὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους, τί δ' οὐ
στένοντες, †οὐ λαχόντες† ἤματος μέρος;
τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ καὶ προσῆν πλέον στύγος·
εὐναὶ γὰρ ἦσαν δαΐων πρὸς τείχεσιν.
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ κἀπὸ γῆς λειμώνιαι
δρόσοι κατεψάκαζον, †ἔμπεδον σίνος
ἐσθημάτων τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρίχα.
χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἰωνοκτόνον,
οἷον παρεῖχ' ἄφερτον Ἰδαία χιών,
ἢ θάλπος, εὖτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβριναῖς
κοίταις ἀκύμων νηνέμοις εὕδοι πεσών—
τί ταῦτα πενθεῖν δεῖ; παροίχεται πόνος·
παροίχεται δέ, τοῖσι μὲν τεθνηκόσιν
τὸ μήποτ' αὖθις μηδ' ἀναστῆναι μέλειν.
τί τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν,
τὸν ζῶντα δ' ἀλγεῖν χρὴ τύχης παλιγκότου;

544 πεπληγμένοι Tyrwhitt : πεπληγμένος codd. 546 μ' add. Scaliger 547 φρενῶν Hermann : στρατῷ codd. : πόλει Kennedy : λεῷ Heimsoeth 550 ὡς Scaliger : ὧν codd. 552 ἂν Auratus : εὖ codd. 557 οὐ λαχόντες corrupta: fortasse ἀσχάλλοντες Margoliouth (qui quidem στένοντας ἀσχάλλοντας legit) vel οὐ κλαίοντες Jacob 560 δὲ Pearson : γὰρ codd. 561 corruptio latet: fortasse ante ἔμπεδον versus excidit δρόσοι non mutandum

καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν ξυμφορὰς καταξιῶ.
ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ
νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει·
ὡς κομπάσαι τῷδ' εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει
ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις·
'Τροίαν ἑλόντες δήποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος
θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα
δόμων ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαίων γάνος.'
τοιαῦτα χρὴ κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· καὶ χάρις τιμήσεται
Διὸς τόδ' ἐκπράξασα. πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον.
Χο. νικώμενος λόγοισιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι·
ἀεὶ γὰρ ἥβη τοῖς γέρουσιν εὖ μαθεῖν.
δόμοις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Κλυταιμήστρᾳ μέλειν
εἰκὸς μάλιστα, σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ.
Κλ. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὕπο,
ὅτ' ἦλθ' ὁ πρῶτος νύχιος ἄγγελος πυρός,
φράζων ἅλωσιν Ἰλίου τ' ἀνάστασιν.
καί τίς μ' ἐνίπτων εἶπε, 'φρυκτωρῶν δία
πεισθεῖσα Τροίαν νῦν πεπορθῆσθαι δοκεῖς;
ἦ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἴρεσθαι κέαρ.'
λόγοις τοιούτοις πλαγκτὸς οὖσ' ἐφαινόμην.
ὅμως δ' ἔθυον, καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμῳ
ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν
ἔλασκον εὐφημοῦντες ἐν θεῶν ἕδραις
θυηφάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.
καὶ νῦν τὰ μάσσω μὲν τί δεῖ σέ μοι λέγειν;
ἄνακτος αὐτοῦ πάντα πεύσομαι λόγον.
ὅπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν
σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι—τί γὰρ
γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἥδιον δρακεῖν,

572 ξυμφορὰς Blomfield : συμφοραῖς codd. 576 ποτώμενα Weil 579 δόμων . . . ἀρχαίων Hartung : δόμοις . . . ἀρχαῖον codd. 584 ἥβη Margoliouth : ἡβᾷ codd. 598 σέ μοι Wieseler : σ' ἐμοὶ codd.

ἀπὸ στρατείας ἀνδρὶ σώσαντος θεοῦ
πύλας ἀνοῖξαι;—ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον πόσει·
ἥκειν ὅπως τάχιστ' ἐράσμιον πόλει·
γυναῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὕροι μολὼν
οἵανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα
ἐσθλὴν ἐκείνῳ, πολεμίαν τοῖς δύσφροσιν,
καὶ τἄλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον
οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν ἐν μήκει χρόνου.
οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν
ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς.
τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων
οὐκ αἰσχρὸς ὡς γυναικὶ γενναίᾳ λακεῖν.
Χο. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε μανθάνοντί σοι
τοροῖσιν ἑρμηνεῦσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.
σὺ δ' εἰπέ, κῆρυξ, Μενέλεων δὲ πεύθομαι,
εἰ νόστιμός τε καὶ σεσωσμένος πάλιν
ἥξει σὺν ὑμῖν, τῆσδε γῆς φίλον κράτος.
Κη. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλὰ
ἐς τὸν πολὺν φίλοισι καρποῦσθαι χρόνον.
Χο. πῶς δῆτ' ἂν εἰπὼν κεδνὰ τἀληθῆ τύχοις;
σχισθέντα δ' οὐκ εὔκρυπτα γίγνεται τάδε.
Κη. ἀνὴρ ἄφαντος ἐξ Ἀχαιικοῦ στρατοῦ,
αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. οὐ ψευδῆ λέγω.
Χο. πότερον ἀναχθεὶς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἰλίου,
ἢ χεῖμα, κοινὸν ἄχθος, ἥρπασε στρατοῦ;
Κη. ἔκυρσας ὥστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ·
μακρὸν δὲ πῆμα συντόμως ἐφημίσω.
Χο. πότερα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἢ τεθνηκότος
φάτις πρὸς ἄλλων ναυτίλων ἐκλῄζετο;
Κη. οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὥστ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι τορῶς,
πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἡλίου χθονὸς φύσιν.

613 Klytaemestrae dedit Hermann : Κη praefixit M 618 τε Hermann : γε codd. 622–635 chori vv. in codd. Klyt. tribuuntur. 622 τύχοις Porson : τύχῃς codd. 624 ἀνὴρ Hermann : ἀνὴρ codd.

Χο. πῶς γὰρ λέγεις χειμῶνα ναυτικῷ στρατῷ
ἐλθεῖν τελευτῆσαί τε δαιμόνων κότῳ;
Κη. εὔφημον ἦμαρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλῳ
γλώσσῃ μιαίνειν· χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν.
ὅταν δ' ἀπευκτὰ πήματ' ἄγγελος πόλει
στυγνῷ προσώπῳ πτωσίμου στρατοῦ φέρῃ,
πόλει μὲν ἕλκος ἓν τὸ δήμιον τυχεῖν,
πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας δόμων
ἄνδρας διπλῇ μάστιγι, τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ,
δίλογχον ἄτην, φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα·
τοιῶνδε μέντοι πημάτων σεσαγμένον
πρέπει λέγειν παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἐρινύων.
σωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον
ἥκοντα πρὸς χαίρουσαν εὐεστοῖ πόλιν,
πῶς κεδνὰ τοῖς κακοῖσι συμμίξω, λέγων
χειμῶν' Ἀχαιοῖς οὐκ ἀμήνιτον θεῶν;
ξυνώμοσαν γάρ, ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρίν,
πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην
φθείροντε τὸν δύστηνον Ἀργείων στρατόν.
ἐν νυκτὶ δυσκύμαντα δ' ὠρώρει κακά.
ναῦς γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλαισι Θρῄκιαι πνοαὶ
ἤρεικον· αἱ δὲ κεροτυπούμεναι βίᾳ
χειμῶνι τυφῶ σὺν ζάλῃ τ' ὀμβροκτύπῳ,
ᾤχοντ' ἄφαντοι, ποιμένος κακοῦ στρόβῳ.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλθε λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος,
ὁρῶμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς
ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρειπίοις.
ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ ναῦν τ' ἀκήρατον σκάφος
ἤτοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ 'ξῃτήσατο
θεός τις, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οἴακος θιγών.

644 σεσαγμένον Schütz : σεσαγμένων codd. 649 Ἀχαιοῖς . . . θεῶν Dobree : Ἀχαιῶν . . . θεοῖς codd. 655 ἤρειπον Fa κεροτυπούμεναι Wasse : κερωτυπούμεναι codd. 660 ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρειπίοις Auratus : ναυτικῶν τ' ἐριπίων codd.

τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο,
ὡς μήτ' ἐν ὅρμῳ κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν
μήτ' ἐξοκεῖλαι πρὸς κραταίλεων χθόνα.
ἔπειτα δ' Ἅιδην πόντιον πεφευγότες,
λευκὸν κατ' ἦμαρ, οὐ πεποιθότες τύχῃ,
ἐβουκολοῦμεν φροντίσιν νέον πάθος,
στρατοῦ καμόντος καὶ κακῶς σποδουμένου.
καὶ νῦν ἐκείνων εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἐμπνέων,
λέγουσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς ὀλωλότας, τί μήν;
ἡμεῖς τ' ἐκείνους ταὔτ' ἔχειν δοξάζομεν.
γένοιτο δ' ὡς ἄριστα. Μενέλεων γὰρ οὖν
πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα προσδόκα μολεῖν.
εἰ δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἡλίου νιν ἱστορεῖ
καὶ ζῶντα καὶ βλέποντα, μηχαναῖς Διός,
οὔπω θέλοντος ἐξαναλῶσαι γένος,
ἐλπίς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἥξειν πάλιν.
τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας ἴσθι τἀληθῆ κλύων.

Χο. τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ὧδ' [στρ. α.
ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως—
μή τις ὅντιν' οὐχ ὁρῶ-
μεν προνοίαισι τοῦ πεπρωμένου
γλῶσσαν ἐν τύχᾳ νέμων;—
τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινει-
κῆ θ' Ἑλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως
ἑλένας, ἕλανδρος, ἑλέπτολις,
ἐκ τῶν ἁβροτίμων
προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσε
ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὔρᾳ,
πολύανδροί τε φεράσπιδες

664 ναυστολοῦσ' Casaubon 672 τί μήν Linwood : τί μή codd. 673 ταὔτ' Stanley : ταῦτ' codd. 677 καὶ ζῶντα] fortasse χλωρόν τε καὶ βλέποντα ex Hesychii gloss. Toup 690 fort. ἁβροπήνων Salmasius

κυναγοὶ κατ' ἴχνος πλατᾶν ἄφαντον
κελσάντων Σιμόεντος
ἀκτὰς ἐπ' ἀεξιφύλλους
δι' ἔριν αἱματόεσσαν.

Ἰλίῳ δὲ κῆδος ὀρθ- [ἀντ. α.
ώνυμον τελεσσίφρων
μῆνις ἤλασεν, τραπέ-
ζας ἀτίμωσιν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ
καὶ ξυνεστίου Διὸς
πρασσομένα τὸ νυμφότι-
μον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίοντας,
ὑμέναιον, ὃς τότ' ἐπέρρεπεν
γαμβροῖσιν ἀείδειν.
μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον
Πριάμου πόλις γεραιὰ
πολύθρηνον μέγα που στένει
κικλήσκουσα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον,
παμπορθῆ πολύθρηνον
αἰῶνα διαὶ πολιτᾶν
μέλεον αἷμ' ἀνατλᾶσα.

ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἶ- [στρ. β.
νιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτον οὔ-
τως ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον,
ἐν βιότου προτελείοις
ἅμερον, εὐφιλόπαιδα
καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον.

695 πλατᾶν Heath : πλάταν codd. 697 ἐπ' ἀξιφύλλους Fl : εἰς ἀεξιφύλλους Fa 701 ἤλασεν Porson : ἤλασε codd. 702 ἀτίμωσιν Canter : ἀτίμως ἴν' Fl : ἀτίμως Fa 714–5 παμπορθῆ Seidler : παμπρόσθη codd. αἰῶνα διαὶ Emper : αἰῶν' ἀμφὶ codd. [sed incerta correctio : et πολύθρηνον e v. 711 iure suspectum] 717–8 λέοντος ἶνιν Conington : λέοντα σίνιν codd. 718–9 ἀγάλακτα βούτας ἀνὴρ φιλομάστων ingeniose (ex Hesych. ἀγάλαξ· ὁμότιτθος) Wecklein

πολέα δ' ἔσκ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις
νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν,
φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα σαί-
νων τε γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις.

χρονισθεὶς δ' ἀπέδειξεν ἦ- [ἀντ. β.
θος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων· χάριν
γὰρ τροφεῦσιν ἀμείβων
μηλοφόνοισι σὺν ἄταις
δαῖτ' ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν·
αἵματι δ' οἶκος ἐφύρθη,
ἄμαχον ἄλγος οἰκέταις
μέγα σίνος πολύκτονον.
ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεύς τις ἄ-
τας δόμοις προσεθρέφθη.

πάραυτα δ' ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἰλίου πόλιν [στρ. γ.
λέγοιμ' ἂν φρόνημα μὲν
νηνέμου γαλάνας,
ἀκασκαῖον ⟨δ'⟩ ἄγαλμα πλούτου,
μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος,
δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος.
παρακλίνασ' ἐπέκρανεν
δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς,
δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος
συμένα Πριαμίδαισιν,
πομπᾷ Διὸς ξενίου,
νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς.

παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος [ἀντ. γ.
τέτυκται, μέγαν τελε-

723 ἔσκ' Casaubon : ἔσχ' codd. : alii ἔσχ' . . . φαιδρωπῶς (Weil). . . σαίνοντα (Auratus) 727 ἦθος Conington : ἔθος codd. 728 τοκέων Fa : τοκήων Fl 729 γὰρ τροφεῦσιν Fa : τροφᾶς γὰρ Fl 730 μηλοφόνοισι σὺν Fix : μηλοφόνοισιν Fl 736 προσεθρέφθη Heath : προσετράφη codd. 741 δ' add. Porson

σθέντα φωτὸς ὄλβον
τεκνοῦσθαι μηδ' ἄπαιδα θνῄσκειν,
ἐκ δ' ἀγαθᾶς τύχας γένει
βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἰζύν.
δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰ-
μί. τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον
μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει,
σφετέρᾳ δ' εἰκότα γέννᾳ.
οἴκων δ' ἄρ' εὐθυδίκων
καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεί.

φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις [στρ. δ.
μὲν παλαιὰ νεά-
ζουσαν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν
ὕβριν τότ' ἢ τόθ', ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόλῃ
φάος τόκου,
δαίμονά τε τὰν ἄμαχον, ἀπόλεμον,
ἀνίερον θράσος, μελαί-
νας μελάθροισιν Ἄτας,
εἰδομένας τοκεῦσιν.

Δίκα δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν [ἀντ. δ.
δυσκάπνοις δώμασιν,
τὸν δ' ἐναίσιμον τίει [βίον].
τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἔδεθλα σὺν πίνῳ χερῶν
παλιντρόποις
ὄμμασι λιποῦσ', ὅσια προσέμολε
δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλού-
του παράσημον αἴνῳ·
πᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμᾷ.

758 δυσσεβὲς γὰρ Pauw : γὰρ δυσσεβὲς codd. 766 ὅτε Klausen : ὅταν codd. 767 φάος τόκου H. L. Ahrens : νεαρὰ φάους κότον codd. 768 τὰν Hermann : τὸν codd. ἄμαχον om. Fa 771 εἰδομένας Casaubon : εἰδομέναν codd. 775 βίον seclusit H. L. Ahrens 776 ἔδεθλα Auratus : ἐσθλὰ codd. 778 προσέμολε Hermann : προσέβα τοῦ codd.

ἄγε δή, βασιλεῦ, Τροίας πτολίπορθ',
Ἀτρέως γένεθλον,
πῶς σε προσείπω; πῶς σε σεβίζω
μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὑποκάμψας
καιρὸν χάριτος;
πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι
προτίουσι δίκην παραβάντες.
τῷ δυσπραγοῦντι δ' ἐπιστενάχειν
πᾶς τις ἕτοιμος· δῆγμα δὲ λύπης
οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἧπαρ προσικνεῖται·
καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς
ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι.
ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων,
οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτός,
τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὔφρονος ἐκ διανοίας
ὑδαρεῖ σαίνειν φιλότητι.
σὺ δέ μοι τότε μὲν στέλλων στρατιὰν
Ἑλένης ἕνεκ', οὐ γάρ ⟨σ'⟩ ἐπικεύσω,
κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἦσθα γεγραμμένος,
οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἴακα νέμων
†θράσος ἑκούσιον†
ἀνδράσι θνῄσκουσι κομίζων.
νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως
εὔφρων πόλις εὖ τελέσασιν.
γνώσει δὲ χρόνῳ διαπευθόμενος
τόν τε δικαίως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως
πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα πολιτῶν.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ

πρῶτον μὲν Ἄργος καὶ θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους
δίκῃ προσειπεῖν, τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταιτίους

782 πτολίπορθ' Blomfield : πολίπορθ' codd. 791 δῆγμα Stobaeus 112. 12, Fa : δεῖγμα Fl 800 σ' add. Musgrave 803 corrupta codd. lectio: θράσος ἐκ θυσιῶν H. L. Ahrens : θάρσος ἑτώσιον Wecklein 806 πόλις M. Schmidt : πόνος codd. : πνόος Weil

νόστου δικαίων θ' ὧν ἐπραξάμην πόλιν
Πριάμου· δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ
κλύοντες ἀνδροθνῆτας Ἰλίου φθορὰς
εἰς αἱματηρὸν τεῦχος οὐ διχορρόπως
ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει
ἐλπὶς προσῄει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένῳ.
καπνῷ δ' ἁλοῦσα νῦν ἔτ' εὔσημος πόλις.
ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι· συνθνῄσκουσα δὲ
σποδὸς προπέμπει πίονας πλούτου πνοάς.
τούτων θεοῖσι χρὴ πολύμνηστον χάριν
τίνειν, ἐπείπερ καὶ πάγας ὑπερκότους
ἐφραξάμεσθα καὶ γυναικὸς οὕνεκα
πόλιν διημάθυνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος,
ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδοστρόφος λεώς,
πήδημ' ὀρούσας ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν·
ὑπερθορὼν δὲ πύργον ὠμηστὴς λέων
ἄδην ἔλειξεν αἵματος τυραννικοῦ.
θεοῖς μὲν ἐξέτεινα φροίμιον τόδε·
τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα, μέμνημαι κλύων,
καὶ φημὶ ταὐτὰ καὶ συνήγορόν μ' ἔχεις.
παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστι συγγενὲς τόδε,
φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἄνευ φθόνου σέβειν.
δύσφρων γὰρ ἰὸς καρδίαν προσήμενος
ἄχθος διπλοίζει τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον,
τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ πήμασιν βαρύνεται
καὶ τὸν θυραῖον ὄλβον εἰσορῶν στένει.
εἰδὼς λέγοιμ' ἄν, εὖ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι,
ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον, εἴδωλον σκιᾶς,
δοκοῦντας εἶναι κάρτα πρευμενεῖς ἐμοί.
μόνος δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅσπερ οὐχ ἑκὼν ἔπλει,
ζευχθεὶς ἕτοιμος ἦν ἐμοὶ σειραφόρος·
εἴτ' οὖν θανόντος εἴτε καὶ ζῶντος πέρι

814 φθορᾶς Dobree 823 ἐφραξάμεσθα Francken : ἐπραξάμεσθα codd. 831 ταὐτὰ Auratus : ταῦτα codd.

λέγω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεοὺς
κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει
βουλευσόμεσθα. καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον
ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον·
ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων,
ἤτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως
πειρασόμεσθα πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου.
νῦν δ' ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους
ἐλθὼν θεοῖσι πρῶτα δεξιώσομαι,
οἵπερ πρόσω πέμψαντες ἤγαγον πάλιν.
νίκη δ' ἐπείπερ ἕσπετ', ἐμπέδως μένοι.

Κλ. ἄνδρες πολῖται, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,
οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλάνορας τρόπους
λέξαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἀποφθίνει
τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώποισιν. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα
μαθοῦσ', ἐμαυτῆς δύσφορον λέξω βίον
τοσόνδ' ὅσονπερ οὗτος ἦν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ.
τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα
ἧσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἔκπαγλον κακόν,
πολλὰς κλύουσαν κληδόνας παλιγκότους·
καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥκειν, τὸν δ' ἐπεσφέρειν κακοῦ
κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα, λάσκοντας δόμοις.
καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγχανεν
ἀνὴρ ὅδ', ὡς πρὸς οἶκον ὠχετεύετο
φάτις, τέτρηται δικτύου πλέον λέγειν.
εἰ δ' ἦν τεθνηκώς, ὡς ἐπλήθυον λόγοι,
τρισώματός τἂν Γηρυὼν ὁ δεύτερος
[πολλὴν ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω,]
χθονὸς τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἐξηύχει λαβεῖν,

850 πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου Porson: πήματος τρέψαι νόσον codd. 863 κληδόνας Auratus: ἡδονὰς codd. 867 ἀνὴρ Hermann: ἁνὴρ codd. 868 τέτρηται H. L. Ahrens: τέτρωται codd. πλέον Dindorf: πλέω codd. 870 τἂν Wellauer: τ' ἂν codd. 871 seclusit Schütz 872 λαβεῖν Paley: λαβών codd.

ἅπαξ ἑκάστῳ κατθανὼν μορφώματι.
τοιῶνδ' ἕκατι κληδόνων παλιγκότων
πολλὰς ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας ἐμῆς δέρης
ἔλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης.
ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι παῖς ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ,
ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος πιστωμάτων,
ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης· μηδὲ θαυμάσῃς τόδε.
τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐμενὴς δορύξενος
Στρόφιος ὁ Φωκεύς, ἀμφίλεκτα πήματα
ἐμοὶ προφωνῶν, τόν θ' ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ σέθεν
κίνδυνον, εἴ τε δημόθρους ἀναρχία
βουλὴν καταρρίψειεν, ὥστε σύγγονον
βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον.
τοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει.
ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι
πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν, οὐδ' ἔνι σταγών.
ἐν ὀψικοίτοις δ' ὄμμασιν βλάβας ἔχω
τὰς ἀμφί σοι κλαίουσα λαμπτηρουχίας
ἀτημελήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ' ὀνείρασιν
λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην
ῥιπαῖσι θωΰσσοντος, ἀμφί σοι πάθη
ὁρῶσα πλείω τοῦ ξυνεύδοντος χρόνου.
νῦν ταῦτα πάντα τλᾶσ' ἀπενθήτῳ φρενὶ
λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,
σωτῆρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης
στῦλον ποδήρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί,
καὶ γῆν φανεῖσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα,
κάλλιστον ἦμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος,
ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος.
τερπνὸν δὲ τἀναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν.
τοιοῖσδέ τοί νιν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν.

876 ἀνημμένης Wecklein 878 πιστωμάτων Spanheim: πιστευμάτων codd. 884 καταρράψειεν Scaliger 898 στῦλον Fa: στόλον Fl 903 τοί νιν Schütz: τοίνυν codd.

λέγω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεοὺς
κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει
βουλευσόμεσθα. καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον
ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον·
ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων,
ἤτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως
πειρασόμεσθα πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου.
νῦν δ' ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους
ἐλθὼν θεοῖσι πρῶτα δεξιώσομαι,
οἵπερ πρόσω πέμψαντες ἤγαγον πάλιν.
νίκη δ' ἐπείπερ ἕσπετ', ἐμπέδως μένοι.

Κλ. ἄνδρες πολῖται, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,
οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλάνορας τρόπους
λέξαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἀποφθίνει
τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώποισιν. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα
μαθοῦσ', ἐμαυτῆς δύσφορον λέξω βίον
τοσόνδ' ὅσονπερ οὗτος ἦν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ.
τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα
ἧσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἔκπαγλον κακόν,
πολλὰς κλύουσαν κληδόνας παλιγκότους·
καὶ τὸν μὲν ἥκειν, τὸν δ' ἐπεσφέρειν κακοῦ
κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα, λάσκοντας δόμοις.
καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγχανεν
ἀνὴρ ὅδ', ὡς πρὸς οἶκον ὠχετεύετο
φάτις, τέτρηται δικτύου πλέον λέγειν.
εἰ δ' ἦν τεθνηκώς, ὡς ἐπλήθυον λόγοι,
τρισώματός τἂν Γηρυὼν ὁ δεύτερος
[πολλὴν ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω,]
χθονὸς τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἐξηύχει λαβεῖν,

850 πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου Porson: πήματος τρέψαι νόσον codd. 863 κληδόνας Auratus: ἡδονὰς codd. 867 ἀνὴρ Hermann: ἁνὴρ codd. 868 τέτρηται H. L. Ahrens: τέτρωται codd. πλέον Dindorf: πλέω codd. 870 τἂν Wellauer: τ' ἂν codd. 871 seclusit Schütz 872 λαβεῖν Paley: λαβών codd.

ἅπαξ ἑκάστῳ κατθανὼν μορφώματι.
τοιῶνδ' ἕκατι κληδόνων παλιγκότων
πολλὰς ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας ἐμῆς δέρης
ἔλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης.
ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι παῖς ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ,
ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος πιστωμάτων,
ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης· μηδὲ θαυμάσῃς τόδε.
τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐμενὴς δορύξενος
Στρόφιος ὁ Φωκεύς, ἀμφίλεκτα πήματα
ἐμοὶ προφωνῶν, τόν θ' ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ σέθεν
κίνδυνον, εἴ τε δημόθρους ἀναρχία
βουλὴν καταρρίψειεν, ὥστε σύγγονον
βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον.
τοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει.
ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι
πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασιν, οὐδ' ἔνι σταγών.
ἐν ὀψικοίτοις δ' ὄμμασιν βλάβας ἔχω
τὰς ἀμφί σοι κλαίουσα λαμπτηρουχίας
ἀτημελήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ' ὀνείρασιν
λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην
ῥιπαῖσι θωΰσσοντος, ἀμφί σοι πάθη
ὁρῶσα πλείω τοῦ ξυνεύδοντος χρόνου.
νῦν ταῦτα πάντα τλᾶσ' ἀπενθήτῳ φρενὶ
λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,
σωτῆρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης
στῦλον ποδήρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί,
καὶ γῆν φανεῖσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα,
κάλλιστον ἦμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος,
ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος.
τερπνὸν δὲ τἀναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν.
τοιοῖσδέ τοί νιν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν.

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φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ πρὶν κακὰ
ἠνειχόμεσθα. νῦν δέ μοι, φίλον κάρα,
ἔκβαιν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μὴ χαμαὶ τιθεὶς
τὸν σὸν πόδ', ὦναξ, Ἰλίου πορθήτορα.
δμωαί, τί μέλλεθ', αἷς ἐπέσταλται τέλος
πέδον κελεύθου στρωννύναι πετάσμασιν;
εὐθὺς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος
ἐς δῶμ' ἄελπτον ὡς ἂν ἡγῆται δίκη.
τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντὶς οὐχ ὕπνῳ νικωμένη
θήσει δικαίως σὺν θεοῖς εἱμαρμένα.

Αγ. Λήδας γένεθλον, δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ,
ἀπουσίᾳ μὲν εἶπας εἰκότως ἐμῇ·
μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας· ἀλλ' ἐναισίμως
αἰνεῖν, παρ' ἄλλων χρὴ τόδ' ἔρχεσθαι γέρας·
καὶ τἄλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ
ἅβρυνε, μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην
χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνῃς ἐμοί,
μηδ' εἵμασι στρώσασ' ἐπίφθονον πόρον
τίθει· θεούς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεών·
ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν
βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου.
λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ.
χωρὶς ποδοψήστρων τε καὶ τῶν ποικίλων
κληδὼν ἀυτεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν
θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον. ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ
βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ.
εἰ πάντα δ' ὣς πράσσοιμ' ἄν, εὐθαρσὴς ἐγώ.

Κλ. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἰπὲ μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί.
Αγ. γνώμην μὲν ἴσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ' ἐμέ.
Κλ. ηὔξω θεοῖς δείσας ἂν ὧδ' ἔρδειν τάδε;
Αγ. εἴπερ τις, εἰδώς γ' εὖ τόδ' ἐξεῖπον τέλος.
Κλ. τί δ' ἂν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος, εἰ τάδ' ἤνυσεν;

930 πράσσοιμεν Dindorf 935 δοκεῖ Stanley : δοκῇ codd.

Αγ. ἐν ποικίλοις ἂν κάρτα μοι βῆναι δοκεῖ.
Κλ. μή νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῇς ψόγον.
Αγ. φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.
Κλ. ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητός γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει.
Αγ. οὔτοι γυναικός ἐστιν ἱμείρειν μάχης.
Κλ. τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικᾶσθαι πρέπει.
Αγ. ἦ καὶ σὺ νίκην τήνδε δήριος τίεις;
Κλ. πιθοῦ· κράτος μέντοι πάρες γ' ἑκὼν ἐμοί.
Αγ. ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας
λύοι τάχος, πρόδουλον ἔμβασιν ποδός.
καὶ τοῖσδέ μ' ἐμβαίνονθ' ἁλουργέσιν θεῶν
μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος.
πολλὴ γὰρ αἰδὼς δωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶν
φθείροντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάς.
τούτων μὲν οὕτω· τὴν ξένην δὲ πρευμενῶς
τήνδ' ἐσκόμιζε· τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς
θεὸς πρόσωθεν εὐμενῶς προσδέρκεται.
ἑκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δουλίῳ χρῆται ζυγῷ.
αὕτη δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον
ἄνθος, στρατοῦ δώρημ', ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο.
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμμαι τάδε,
εἶμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα πορφύρας πατῶν.

Κλ. ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει;
τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἰσάργυρον
κηκῖδα παγκαίνιστον, εἱμάτων βαφάς.
οἶκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἄναξ,
ἔχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος.
πολλῶν πατησμὸν δ' εἱμάτων ἂν ηὐξάμην,
δόμοισι προυνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις,

936 δοκῇ Fl 937 αἰδεσθεὶς Fl 943 πάρες γ'] fort. παρείς γ' Karsten 948 δωματοφθορεῖν Schütz : σωματοφθορεῖν codd. 950 τούτων] τοὐμὸν Emper 954 αὕτη Auratus : αὐτὴ codd. 959 ἰσάργυρον Salmasius : εἰς ἄργυρον codd. 961 ἄναξ] fort. ἅλις Karsten 963 δ' εἱμάτων Canter : δειμάτων codd.

ψυχῆς κόμιστρα τῆσδε μηχανωμένη.
ῥίζης γὰρ οὔσης φυλλὰς ἵκετ' ἐς δόμους,
σκιὰν ὑπερτείνασα σειρίου κυνός.
καὶ σοῦ μολόντος δωματῖτιν ἑστίαν,
θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνεις μολόν·
ὅταν δὲ τεύχῃ Ζεὺς ἀπ' ὄμφακος πικρᾶς
οἶνον, τότ' ἤδη ψῦχος ἐν δόμοις πέλει,
ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστρωφωμένου.
Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει·
μέλοι δέ τοι σοὶ τῶνπερ ἂν μέλλῃς τελεῖν.

Χο. τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπέδως [στρ. α.
δεῖμα προστατήριον
καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται,
μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἄμισθος ἀοιδά,
οὐδ' ἀποπτύσαι δίκαν
δυσκρίτων ὀνειράτων
θάρσος εὐπιθὲς ἵζει
φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον; χρόνος δ' ἐπὶ
πρυμνησίων ξυνεμβολαῖς
ψαμμίας ἀκάτας παρή-
βησεν, εὖθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον
ὦρτο ναυβάτας στρατός.

πεύθομαι δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων [ἀντ. α.
νόστον, αὐτόμαρτυς ὤν·
τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας ὅμως ὑμνῳδεῖ
θρῆνον Ἐρινύος αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσωθεν
θυμός, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἔχων

965 μηχανωμένη Abresch : μηχανωμένης codd. 969 μολόν Voss : μολών codd. 970 ἀπ' Auratus : τἀπ' Fl : τ' ἀπ' Fa 976 δεῖμα Fa : δεῖγμα Fl 980 ἀποπτύσαι Fa : ἀποπτύσας Fl 982 ἵζει Scaliger : ἵξει V Fa : ἵξει Fl 983 ἐπὶ Fa : ἐπεὶ Fl 984 ξυνεμβολαῖς Schneider : ξυνεμβόλοις codd. 985 ἀκάτα Fl 990 ὅμως Auratus : ὅπως codd. 991 Ἐρινύος Porson : ἐριννὺς codd.

ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος.
σπλάγχνα δ' οὔτι ματᾴζει
πρὸς ἐνδίκοις φρεσὶν τελεσφόροις
δίναις κυκλούμενον κέαρ.
εὔχομαι δ' ἀπ' ἐμᾶς τοιαῦτ'
ἐλπίδος ψύθη πεσεῖν
ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον.

μάλα γέ τοι τὸ μεγάλας ὑγιείας [στρ. β.
ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόσος γὰρ ⟨ἀεὶ⟩
γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει,
καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν
. . . . . .
ἀνδρὸς ἔπαισεν ἄφαντον ἕρμα.
καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων
κτησίων ὄκνος βαλὼν
σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου,
οὐκ ἔδυ πρόπας δόμος
πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,
οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος.
πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς ἀμ-
φιλαφής τε καὶ ἐξ ἀλόκων ἐπετειᾶν
νῆστιν ὤλεσεν νόσον.

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν πεσὸν ἅπαξ θανάσιμον [ἀντ. β.
προπάροιθ' ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἷμα τίς ἂν
πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων;
οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ
τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν

995 οὔτι Casaubon : οὔτοι codd. 998 ἀπ' Fa : ἐξ Fl τοιαῦτ' Kennedy : τοι Fa : omittit Fl 1001 γάρ τοι Fl : γέ τοι δὴ Fa τὸ μεγάλας Paley : τᾶς πολλᾶς codd. 1002 ἀεὶ add. Blomfield Excidit post vel ante 1005 eiusdem metri versus 1012 πημονᾶς Victorius : πημονὰς codd. 1019 πεσὸν Auratus : πεσόνθ' codd. 1020 πρόπαρ Fl 1022 οὐδὲ] εὖ δὲ (sine interrogationis signo 1024) Wecklein

Ζεὺς ἀπέπαυσεν ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ;
εἰ δὲ μὴ τεταγμένα
μοῖρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν
εἶργε μὴ πλέον φέρειν,
προφθάσασα καρδία
γλῶσσαν ἂν τάδ' ἐξέχει.
νῦν δ' ὑπὸ σκότῳ βρέμει
θυμαλγής τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπελ-
πομένα ποτὲ καίριον ἐκτολυπεύσειν
ζωπυρουμένας φρενός.

Κλ. εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κασάνδραν λέγω,
ἐπεί σ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις
κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ
δούλων σταθεῖσαν κτησίου βωμοῦ πέλας·
ἔκβαιν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μηδ' ὑπερφρόνει.
καὶ παῖδα γάρ τοι φασὶν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ
πραθέντα τλῆναι δουλίας μάζης τυχεῖν.
εἰ δ' οὖν ἀνάγκη τῆσδ' ἐπιρρέποι τύχης,
ἀρχαιοπλούτων δεσποτῶν πολλὴ χάρις.
οἳ δ' οὔποτ' ἐλπίσαντες ἤμησαν καλῶς,
ὠμοί τε δούλοις πάντα καὶ παρὰ στάθμην.
ἕξεις παρ' ἡμῶν οἷάπερ νομίζεται.
Χο. σοί τοι λέγουσα παύεται σαφῆ λόγον.
ἐντὸς δ' ἁλοῦσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων
πείθοι' ἄν, εἰ πείθοι'· ἀπειθοίης δ' ἴσως.
Κλ. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ χελιδόνος δίκην
ἀγνῶτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη,
ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν λόγῳ.
Χο. ἕπου. τὰ λῷστα τῶν παρεστώτων λέγει.

1024 ἀπέπαυσεν Hartung: αὐτ' ἔπαυσ' codd. 1041 δουλίας μάζης τυχεῖν Enger: δουλείας μάζης βία Fl: καὶ ζυγῶν θιγεῖν βίᾳ Fa 1042 ἐπιρρέπει Fa 1046 ἕξεις Auratus: ἔχεις codd. 1048 ἁλοῦσα C. G. Haupt: ἂν οὖσα codd.

πιθοῦ λιποῦσα τόνδ' ἁμαξήρη θρόνον.
Κλ. οὔτοι θυραίᾳ τῇδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴ πάρα
τρίβειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἑστίας μεσομφάλου
ἕστηκεν ἤδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός,
ὡς οὔποτ' ἐλπίσασι τήνδ' ἕξειν χάριν.
σὺ δ' εἴ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μὴ σχολὴν τίθει.
εἰ δ' ἀξυνήμων οὖσα μὴ δέχει λόγον,
σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερί.
Χο. ἑρμηνέως ἔοικεν ἡ ξένη τοροῦ
δεῖσθαι· τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὡς νεαιρέτου.
Κλ. ἦ μαίνεταί γε καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν,
ἥτις λιποῦσα μὲν πόλιν νεαίρετον
ἥκει, χαλινὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν,
πρὶν αἱματηρὸν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος.
οὐ μὴν πλέω ῥίψασ' ἀτιμασθήσομαι.
Χο. ἐγὼ δ', ἐποικτείρω γάρ, οὐ θυμώσομαι.
ἴθ', ὦ τάλαινα, τόνδ' ἐρημώσασ' ὄχον,
εἴκουσ' ἀνάγκῃ τῇδε καίνισον ζυγόν.

ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ

ὀτοτοτοτοῖ πόποι δᾶ. [στρ. α.
ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.
Χο. τί ταῦτ' ἀνωτότυξας ἀμφὶ Λοξίου;
οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν.

Κα. ὀτοτοτοτοῖ πόποι δᾶ. [ἀντ. α.
ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.
Χο. ἡ δ' αὖτε δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ
οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.

Κα. Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον [στρ. β.
ἀγυιᾶτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός.

1054 πείθου codd. 1055 θυραίᾳ Casaubon: θυραίαν codd. τῇδ' Musgrave: τήνδ' codd. 1068–1159 testatur M 1071 εἴκουσ' Robortello: ἑκοῦσ' codd.

ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.
Χο. χρήσειν ἔοικεν ἀμφὶ τῶν αὑτῆς κακῶν.
μένει τὸ θεῖον δουλίᾳ περ ἐν φρενί.

Κα. Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον [ἀντ. β.
ἀγυιᾶτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός.
ἆ ποῖ ποτ' ἤγαγές με; πρὸς ποίαν στέγην;
Χο. πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν· εἰ σὺ μὴ τόδ' ἐννοεῖς,
ἐγὼ λέγω σοι· καὶ τάδ' οὐκ ἐρεῖς ψύθη.

Κα. μισόθεον μὲν οὖν, πολλὰ συνίστορα [στρ. γ.
αὐτόφονα κακὰ καὶ ἀρτάνας,
ἀνδρὸς σφαγεῖον καὶ πέδον ῥαντήριον.
Χο. ἔοικεν εὔρις ἡ ξένη κυνὸς δίκην
εἶναι, ματεύει δ' ὧν ἀνευρήσει φόνον.

Κα. μαρτυρίοισι γὰρ τοῖσδ' ἐπιπείθομαι· [ἀντ. γ.
κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγάς,
ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.
Χο. ἦμεν κλέος σοῦ μαντικὸν πεπυσμένοι·
τούτων προφήτας δ' οὔτινας ματεύομεν.

Κα. ἰὼ πόποι, τί ποτε μήδεται; [στρ. δ.
τί τόδε νέον ἄχος μέγα
μέγ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσδε μήδεται κακὸν
ἄφερτον φίλοισιν, δυσίατον; ἀλκὰ δ'
ἑκὰς ἀποστατεῖ.
Χο. τούτων ἄιδρίς εἰμι τῶν μαντευμάτων.
ἐκεῖνα δ' ἔγνων· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ.

1084 περ ἐν Schütz : παρ' ἓν M 1091 καὶ ἀρτάνας Lachmann : κἀρτάναι M : κἀρτάνας Fa 1092 σφαγεῖον Turnebus : σφάγιον codd. 1094 ματεύει Fl Fa : μαντεύει M ἀνευρήσει Porson : ἂν εὑρήσῃ M 1095 μαρτυρίοισι Pauw : μαρτυρίοις codd. τοῖσδ' ἐπιπείθομαι Abresch : τοῖσδε πεπείθομαι codd. 1098 ἦμην M (ἦμεν supra scr.) 1099 τούτων Weil : ἡμὲν M ματεύομεν Schütz : μαστεύομεν codd.

Κα. ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς, [ἀντ. δ.
τὸν ὁμοδέμνιον πόσιν
λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα—πῶς φράσω τέλος;
τάχος γὰρ τόδ' ἔσται· προτείνει δὲ χεὶρ ἐκ
χερὸς ὀρέγματα.
Χο. οὔπω ξυνῆκα· νῦν γὰρ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων
ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφάτοις ἀμηχανῶ.

Κα. ἒ ἔ, παπαῖ παπαῖ, τί τόδε φαίνεται; [στρ. ε.
ἦ δίκτυόν τι [γ'] Ἅιδου;
ἀλλ' ἄρκυς ἡ ξύνευνος, ἡ ξυναιτία
φόνου. στάσις δ' ἀκόρετος γένει
κατολολυξάτω θύματος λευσίμου.
Χο. ποίαν Ἐρινὺν τήνδε δώμασιν κέλει
ἐπορθιάζειν; οὔ με φαιδρύνει λόγος.
ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφὴς
σταγών, ἅτε καιρία πτώσιμος
ξυνανύτει βίου δύντος αὐγαῖς.
ταχεῖα δ' ἄτα πέλει.

Κα. ἆ ἆ, ἰδοὺ ἰδού· ἄπεχε τῆς βοὸς [ἀντ. ε.
τὸν ταῦρον· ἐν πέπλοισι
μελαγκέρῳ λαβοῦσα μηχανήματι
τύπτει· πίτνει δ' ⟨ἐν⟩ ἐνύδρῳ τεύχει.
δολοφόνου λέβητος τύχαν σοι λέγω.
Χο. οὐ κομπάσαιμ' ἂν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἄκρος
εἶναι, κακῷ δέ τῳ προσεικάζω τάδε.
ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς ἀγαθὰ φάτις
βροτοῖς στέλλεται; κακῶν γὰρ διαὶ

1111 ὀρέγματα Hermann : ὀρεγόμενα M : ὀρεγμένα recc. 1115 τί γ' codd. : γ' seclusit Dindorf Ἅιδου Schütz : ἀΐδου codd. 1117 ἀκόρετος Bothe : ἀκόρεστος codd. 1122 καιρία Dindorf : καὶ δορία M 1127 μελάγκερων in μελαγκέρωι mutatum, ν iterum suprascripto M 1128 ἐν add. Schütz τεύχει] κύτει Blomfield 1132 τίς recc. : τις M 1133 διαὶ Hermann : διὰ M

πολυεπεῖς τέχναι θεσπιῳδὸν
φόβον φέρουσιν μαθεῖν.

Κα. ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας κακόποτμοι τύχαι· [στρ. ζ.
τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῶ πάθος ἐπεγχέαι.
ποῖ δή με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἤγαγες;
οὐδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ξυνθανουμένην. τί γάρ;
Χο. φρενομανής τις εἶ θεοφόρητος, ἀμ-
φὶ δ' αὑτᾶς θροεῖς
νόμον ἄνομον, οἷά τις ξουθὰ
ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ, ταλαίναις φρεσὶν
Ἴτυν Ἴτυν στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς
ἀηδὼν βίον.

Κα. ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας μόρον ἀηδόνος· [ἀντ. ζ.
περίβαλον γάρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας
θεοὶ γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ·
ἐμοὶ δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.
Χο. πόθεν ἐπισσύτους θεοφόρους τ' ἔχεις
ματαίους δύας,
τὰ δ' ἐπίφοβα δυσφάτῳ κλαγγᾷ
μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ τ' ὀρθίοις ἐν νόμοις;
πόθεν ὅρους ἔχεις θεσπεσίας ὁδοῦ
κακορρήμονας;

Κα. ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι φίλων. [στρ. η.
ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν.
τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σὰς ἀιόνας τάλαιν'
ἠνυτόμαν τροφαῖς·
νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Κωκυτόν τε κἀχερουσίους

1135 φέρουσιν Fa : φέρουσι cett. codd. 1137 ἐπεγχέαι anonymus : ἐπεγχέασα codd. 1142 οἷα recc. : οἵα M 1143 ἀκόρετος Aldina : ἀκόρεστος codd. βοᾶς recc. : βοαῖσ M 1146 μόρον ἀηδόνος Hermann : ἀηδόνος μόρυν codd. 1147 περίβαλον γὰρ Blomfield : περεβάλοντο γὰρ M 1148 αἰῶνα m : ἀγῶνα codd. 1152 ἐπίφοβα M : ἐπὶ φόβῳ m recc. 1160–1673 testantur Fl Fa V

ὄχθας ἔοικα θεσπιῳδήσειν τάχα.
Χο. τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἐφημίσω;
νεόγονος ἂν αἴων μάθοι.
πέπληγμαι δ' ὑπαὶ δάκει φοινίῳ
δυσαλγεῖ τύχᾳ μινυρὰ [κακὰ] θρεομένας,
θραύματ' ἐμοὶ κλύειν.

Κα. ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένας τὸ πᾶν. [ἀντ. η.
ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσίαι πατρὸς
πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἄκος δ'
οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν
τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν.
†ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδῳ βαλῶ†.
Χο. ἑπόμενα προτέροισι τάδ' ἐφημίσω.
καί τίς σε κακοφρονῶν τίθη-
σι δαίμων ὑπερβαρὴς ἐμπίτνων
μελίζειν πάθη γοερὰ θανατοφόρα.
τέρμα δ' ἀμηχανῶ.

Κα. καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων
ἔσται δεδορκὼς νεογάμου νύμφης δίκην·
λαμπρὸς δ' ἔοικεν ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς
πνέων ἐσᾴξειν, ὥστε κύματος δίκην
κλύζειν πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦδε πήματος πολὺ
μεῖζον· φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.
καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρόμως ἴχνος κακῶν
ῥινηλατούσῃ τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων.
τὴν γὰρ στέγην τήνδ' οὔποτ' ἐκλείπει χορὸς

1161 ὄχθας Casaubon : ὄχθους codd. 1163 νεόγονος ἂν αἴων Karsten : νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων codd. 1164 ὑπαὶ Fa : ὑπὸ Fl V δάκει Hermann : δήγματι codd. 1165 δυσαλγεῖ Canter : δυσαγγεῖ codd. κακὰ seclusit Schütz 1166 θραύματ' Fl V : θαύματ' Fa : θραῦμα δ' Enger 1167 ὀλομένας Casaubon : ὀλωμένας Fl V : ὀλουμένας Fa 1172 fortasse ἐγὼ δὲ θερμὴν οὐ στάγ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ; Miller 1174 κακοφρονῶν Schütz : κακοφρονεῖν codd. 1181 ἐσᾴξειν Bothe : ἐσ ἥξειν codd. 1182 κλύζειν Auratus : κλύειν codd.

σύμφθογγος οὐκ εὔφωνος· οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει.
καὶ μὴν πεπωκώς γ᾽, ὡς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον,
βρότειον αἷμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει,
δύσπεμπτος ἔξω, συγγόνων Ἐρινύων.
ὑμνοῦσι δ᾽ ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι
πρώταρχον ἄτην· ἐν μέρει δ᾽ ἀπέπτυσαν
εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ τῷ πατοῦντι δυσμενεῖς.
ἥμαρτον, ἢ θηρῶ τι τοξότης τις ὥς;
ἢ ψευδόμαντίς εἰμι θυροκόπος φλέδων;
ἐκμαρτύρησον προυμόσας τό μ᾽ εἰδέναι
λόγῳ παλαιὰς τῶνδ᾽ ἁμαρτίας δόμων.
Χο. καὶ πῶς ἂν ὅρκος, πῆγμα γενναίως παγέν,
παιώνιος γένοιτο; θαυμάζω δέ σε
πόντου πέραν τραφεῖσαν ἀλλόθρουν πόλιν
κυρεῖν λέγουσαν, ὥσπερ εἰ παρεστάτεις.
Κα. μάντις μ᾽ Ἀπόλλων τῷδ᾽ ἐπέστησεν τέλει.
Χο. μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένος;
Κα. προτοῦ μὲν αἰδὼς ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε.
Χο. ἁβρύνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις εὖ πράσσων πλέον.
Κα. ἀλλ᾽ ἦν παλαιστὴς κάρτ᾽ ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν.
Χο. ἦ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἔργον ἠλθέτην νόμῳ;
Κα. ξυναινέσασα Λοξίαν ἐψευσάμην.
Χο. ἤδη τέχναισιν ἐνθέοις ᾑρημένη;
Κα. ἤδη πολίταις πάντ᾽ ἐθέσπιζον πάθη.
Χο. πῶς δῆτ᾽ ἄνατος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ;
Κα. ἔπειθον οὐδέν᾽ οὐδέν, ὡς τάδ᾽ ἤμπλακον.
Χο. ἡμῖν γε μὲν δὴ πιστὰ θεσπίζειν δοκεῖς.
Κα. ἰοὺ ἰού, ὢ ὢ κακά.

1192 πρώταρχον Fa : πρώταρχος Fl V 1194 θηρῶ Canter : τηρῶ codd. : κυρῶ H. L. Ahrens 1198 πῆγμα Auratus : πῆμα codd. 1199 παιώνιος Fa : παιώνιον Fl V fort. ὅρκου πῆγμα . . . παιώνιον Auratus σε Auratus : σου codd. 1203 in codd. post 1204 : correxit Hermann 1207 ἠλθέτην Elmsley : ἤλθετον codd. 1211 ἄνατος Canter : ἄνακτος codd. 1212 οὐδέν᾽ οὐδέν Canter : οὐδὲν bis codd.

ὑπ᾽ αὖ με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος
στροβεῖ ταράσσων φροιμίοις ⟨δυσφροιμίοις.⟩
ὁρᾶτε τούσδε τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους
νέους, ὀνείρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασι;
παῖδες θανόντες ὡσπερεὶ πρὸς τῶν φίλων,
χεῖρας κρεῶν πλήθοντες οἰκείας βορᾶς,
σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν᾽, ἐποίκτιστον γέμος,
πρέπουσ᾽ ἔχοντες, ὧν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.
ἐκ τῶνδε ποινάς φημι βουλεύειν τινὰ
λέοντ᾽ ἄναλκιν ἐν λέχει στρωφώμενον
οἰκουρόν, οἴμοι, τῷ μολόντι δεσπότῃ
ἐμῷ· φέρειν γὰρ χρὴ τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν·
νεῶν δ᾽ ἔπαρχος Ἰλίου τ᾽ ἀναστάτης
οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς
λείξασα κἀκτείνασα φαιδρὸν οὖς, δίκην
ἄτης λαθραίου, † τεύξεται κακῇ τύχῃ.
τοιᾷδε τόλμῃ θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεὺς
ἔστιν. τί νιν καλοῦσα δυσφιλὲς δάκος
τύχοιμ᾽ ἄν; ἀμφίσβαιναν, ἢ Σκύλλαν τινὰ
οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτίλων βλάβην,
θύουσαν Ἅιδου μητέρ᾽ ἄσπονδόν τ᾽ Ἄρη
φίλοις πνέουσαν; ὡς δ᾽ ἐπωλολύξατο
ἡ παντότολμος, ὥσπερ ἐν μάχης τροπῇ.
δοκεῖ δὲ χαίρειν νοστίμῳ σωτηρίᾳ.
καὶ τῶνδ᾽ ὅμοιον εἴ τι μὴ πείθω· τί γάρ;
τὸ μέλλον ἥξει. καὶ σύ μ᾽ ἐν τάχει παρὼν
ἄγαν γ᾽ ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτείρας ἐρεῖς.
Χο. τὴν μὲν Θυέστου δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν

1216 δυσφροιμίοις add. Hermann : ἐφημένους (e proximo versu) codd. eiciendum ὢ ὢ κακά ex 1214 ingeniose transtulit Weil 1227 δ᾽ Voss, ἔπαρχος Canter : τ᾽ ἄπαρχος codd. 1228 οἷα Herwerden : οἷα codd. 1229 λείξασα Tyrwhitt, κἀκτείνασα Canter, φαιδρὸν οὖς H. L. Ahrens : λέξασα καὶ κτείνασα φαιδρόνους codd. 1230 fort. δήξεται Madvig 1231 τοιᾷδε τόλμῃ Karsten : τοιάδε τολμᾷ Fl V 1235 Ἄρη Porson : ἀρὰν codd. 1240 μ᾽ ἐν Auratus : μὴν codd. 1242 παιδείων Schütz : παιδίων codd.

ξυνῆκα καὶ πέφρικα, καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει
κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξῃκασμένα.
τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀκούσας ἐκ δρόμου πεσὼν τρέχω.
Κα. Ἀγαμέμνονός σέ φημ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον.
Χο. εὔφημον, ὦ τάλαινα, κοίμησον στόμα.
Κα. ἀλλ' οὔτι παιὼν τῷδ' ἐπιστατεῖ λόγῳ.
Χο. οὔκ, εἴπερ ἔσται γ'· ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό πως.
Κα. σὺ μὲν κατεύχει, τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνειν μέλει.
Χο. τίνος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦτ' ἄχος πορσύνεται;
Κα. ἦ κάρτα τἄρ' ἂν παρεκόπης χρησμῶν ἐμῶν.
Χο. τοὺς γὰρ τελοῦντας οὐ ξυνῆκα μηχανήν.
Κα. καὶ μὴν ἄγαν γ' Ἕλλην' ἐπίσταμαι φάτιν.
Χο. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πυθόκραντα· δυσμαθῆ δ' ὅμως.
Κα. παπαῖ, οἷον τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι.
ὀτοτοῖ, Λύκει' Ἄπολλον, οἳ ἐγὼ ἐγώ.
αὕτη δίπους λέαινα συγκοιμωμένη
λύκῳ, λέοντος εὐγενοῦς ἀπουσίᾳ,
κτενεῖ με τὴν τάλαιναν· ὡς δὲ φάρμακον
τεύχουσα κἀμοῦ μισθὸν ἐνθήσειν κότῳ
ἐπεύχεται θήγουσα φωτὶ φάσγανον
ἐμῆς ἀγωγῆς ἀντιτίσασθαι φόνον.
τί δῆτ' ἐμαυτῆς καταγέλωτ' ἔχω τάδε,
καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέρῃ στέφη;
σὲ μὲν πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς διαφθερῶ.
ἴτ' ἐς φθόρον· πεσόντα θ' ὧδ' ἀμείψομαι.
ἄλλην τιν' ἄτης ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πλουτίζετε.
ἰδοὺ δ' Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἐμὲ
χρηστηρίαν ἐσθῆτ', ἐποπτεύσας δέ με

1249 εἴπερ ἔσται Schütz : εἰ πάρεσται codd. 1251 ἄγος Auratus 1252 κάρτα τἄρα Hartung : κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν codd. : scripsi τἄρ' ἂν παρεκόπης Hartung : παρεσκόπεις codd. 1253 τοὺς . . . τελοῦντας Heimsoeth : τοῦ . . . τελοῦντος codd. 1255 δυσμαθῆ Stephanus : δυσπαθῆ codd. 1258 δίπους Victorius : δίπλους codd. 1261 ἐνθήσει, ν post addito, Fa : ἐνθήσει Fl V ποτῷ Auratus 1267 πεσόντα θ' ὧδ' Verrall : πεσόντ'· ἀγαθῶ δ' codd. : πεσόντ'· ἐγὼ δ' ἅμ' ἕψομαι Hermann 1268 ἄτης Stanley : ἄτην codd.

κἀν τοῖσδε κόσμοις καταγελωμένην μέγα
φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως, μάτην—
καλουμένη δὲ φοιτὰς ὡς ἀγύρτρια
πτωχὸς τάλαινα λιμοθνὴς ἠνεσχόμην—
καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ
ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανασίμους τύχας.
βωμοῦ πατρῴου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει,
θερμῷ κοπείσης φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.
οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν.
ἥξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάορος,
μητροκτόνον φίτυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός·
φυγὰς δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος
κάτεισιν, ἄτας τάσδε θριγκώσων φίλοις·
ὀμώμοται γὰρ ὅρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας,
πράξειν νιν ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός.
τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ κάτοικτος ὧδ' ἀναστένω;
ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἰλίου πόλιν
πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, οἳ δ' εἷλον πόλιν
οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει,
ἰοῦσα πράξω· τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν.
Ἅιδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσεννέπω·
ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,
ὡς ἀσφάδαστος, αἱμάτων εὐθνησίμων
ἀπορρυέντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.
Χο. ὦ πολλὰ μὲν τάλαινα, πολλὰ δ' αὖ σοφὴ
γύναι, μακρὰν ἔτεινας. εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως
μόρον τὸν αὑτῆς οἶσθα, πῶς θεηλάτου
βοὸς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς;

1271 μέγα Hermann : μετὰ codd. 1277 ἀντεπίξηνον codd. 1278 φοίνιον C. G. Haupt 1284 post 1290 codd. : huc transtulit Hermann 1285 πράξειν Schömann : ἄξειν codd. νιν V Fa : νυν Fl 1286 κάτοικτος Scaliger : κάτοικος codd. 1288 εἷλον Musgrave : εἶχον codd. 1290 πράξω·] fortasse κἀγὼ Heath 1291 τάσδ' ἐγὼ Auratus : τὰς λέγω codd. 1295 δ' αὖ Fa : δὲ Fl V

Κα. οὐκ ἔστ᾽ ἄλυξις, οὔ, ξένοι, χρόνον πλέω.
Χο. ὁ δ᾽ ὕστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται.
Κα. ἥκει τόδ᾽ ἦμαρ· σμικρὰ κερδανῶ φυγῇ.
Χο. ἀλλ᾽ ἴσθι τλήμων οὖσ᾽ ἀπ᾽ εὐτόλμου φρενός.
Κα. οὐδεὶς ἀκούει ταῦτα τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.
Χο. ἀλλ᾽ εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῷ.
Κα. ἰὼ πάτερ σοῦ τῶν τε γενναίων τέκνων.
Χο. τί δ᾽ ἐστὶ χρῆμα; τίς σ᾽ ἀποστρέφει φόβος;
Κα. φεῦ φεῦ.
Χο. τί τοῦτ᾽ ἔφευξας; εἴ τι μὴ φρενῶν στύγος.
Κα. φόνον δόμοι πνέουσιν αἱματοσταγῆ.
Χο. καὶ πῶς; τόδ᾽ ὄζει θυμάτων ἐφεστίων.
Κα. ὅμοιος ἀτμὸς ὥσπερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει.
Χο. οὐ Σύριον ἀγλάισμα δώμασιν λέγεις.
Κα. ἀλλ᾽ εἶμι κἀν δόμοισι κωκύσουσ᾽ ἐμὴν
ʼΑγαμέμνονός τε μοῖραν. ἀρκείτω βίος.
ἰὼ ξένοι.
οὔτοι δυσοίζω θάμνον ὡς ὄρνις φόβῳ
ἄλλως· θανούσῃ μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι τόδε,
ὅταν γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ᾽ ἐμοῦ θάνῃ,
ἀνήρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ᾽ ἀνδρὸς πέσῃ.
ἐπιξενοῦμαι ταῦτα δ᾽ ὡς θανουμένη.
Χο. ὦ τλῆμον, οἰκτείρω σε θεσφάτου μόρου.
Κα. ἅπαξ ἔτ᾽ εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν οὐ θρῆνον θέλω
ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς. ἡλίου δ᾽ ἐπεύχομαι
πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς † τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαόροις
ἐχθροῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς τίνειν ὁμοῦ, †
δούλης θανούσης, εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος.
ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ᾽· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν

1299 χρόνον Hermann : χρόνῳ codd. 1303–4 transponit Heath 1305 σῶν Auratus 1309 φόβον codd., sed ν supra scripto Fa 1317 ἄλλως· Hermann : ἀλλ᾽ ὡς codd. 1322 οὐ Hermann : ἢ codd. 1323 ἡλίου Jacob : ἡλίῳ codd. 1324–5 fort. τοὺς ἐμοὺς τιμαόρους (Karsten) δίκην φονεῦσι (Gilbert)

σκιᾷ τις ἂν πρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχῇ,
βολαῖς ὑγρώσσων σπόγγος ὤλεσεν γραφήν.
καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτείρω πολύ.

Χο. τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφυ
πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδείκτων δ᾽
οὔτις ἀπειπὼν εἴργει μελάθρων,
μηκέτ᾽ ἐσέλθῃς, τάδε φωνῶν.
καὶ τῷδε πόλιν μὲν ἑλεῖν ἔδοσαν
μάκαρες Πριάμου·
θεοτίμητος δ᾽ οἴκαδ᾽ ἱκάνει.
νῦν δ᾽ εἰ προτέρων αἷμ᾽ ἀποτίσῃ
καὶ τοῖσι θανοῦσι θανὼν ἄλλων
ποινὰς θανάτων ἐπικράνῃ,
τίς ἂν εὔξαιτο βροτὸς ὢν ἀσινεῖ
δαίμονι φῦναι τάδ᾽ ἀκούων;

Αγ. ὤμοι, πέπληγμαι καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω.
Χο. σῖγα· τίς πληγὴν ἀυτεῖ καιρίως οὐτασμένος;
Αγ. ὤμοι μάλ᾽ αὖθις, δευτέραν πεπληγμένος.
Χο. 1. τοὔργον εἰργάσθαι δοκεῖ μοι βασιλέως οἰμώγματι.
ἀλλὰ κοινωσώμεθ᾽ ἤν πως ἀσφαλῆ βουλεύματ᾽ ⟨ᾖ⟩.—
2. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην λέγω,
πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ᾽ ἀστοῖσι κηρύσσειν βοήν.—
3. ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ὅπως τάχιστά γ᾽ ἐμπεσεῖν δοκεῖ
καὶ πρᾶγμ᾽ ἐλέγχειν σὺν νεορρύτῳ ξίφει.—
4. κἀγὼ τοιούτου γνώματος κοινωνὸς ὢν
ψηφίζομαί τι δρᾶν· τὸ μὴ μέλλειν δ᾽ ἀκμή.—
5. ὁρᾶν πάρεστι· φροιμιάζονται γὰρ ὡς

1328 σκιᾷ Wieseler : σκιά codd. ἂν Porson, πρέψειεν Boissonade : ἀντρέψειεν codd. δυστυχῆ codd. 1332 βροτοῖσιν Pauw : βροτοῖς codd. 1334 μηκέτ᾽ ἐσέλθῃς Hermann : μηκέτι δ᾽ εἰσέλθῃς codd. 1338 ἀποτίσει codd. : scripsi ἀποτίσῃ 1340 ἐπικρανεῖ codd. : scripsi ἐπικράνῃ 1341 βροτὸς ὢν Bothe : βροτῶν codd. 1346–69 inter choreutas ita distribuendi ut duo vv. quisque recitet 1347 ἤν Weil : ἂν codd. ᾖ add. Enger : βουλεύματα codd.

τυραννίδος σημεῖα πράσσοντες πόλει.—
6. χρονίζομεν γάρ. οἱ δὲ τῆς μελλοῦς κλέος
πέδοι πατοῦντες οὐ καθεύδουσιν χερί.—
7. οὐκ οἶδα βουλῆς ἧστινος τυχὼν λέγω.
τοῦ δρῶντός ἐστι καὶ τὸ βουλεῦσαι πέρι.—
8. κἀγὼ τοιοῦτός εἰμ', ἐπεὶ δυσμηχανῶ
λόγοισι τὸν θανόντ' ἀνιστάναι πάλιν.—
9. ἦ καὶ βίον τείνοντες ὧδ' ὑπείξομεν
δόμων καταισχυντῆρσι τοῖσδ' ἡγουμένοις;—
10. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, ἀλλὰ κατθανεῖν κρατεῖ·
πεπαιτέρα γὰρ μοῖρα τῆς τυραννίδος.—
11. ἦ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰμωγμάτων
μαντευσόμεσθα τἀνδρὸς ὡς ὀλωλότος;—
12. σάφ' εἰδότας χρὴ τῶνδε θυμοῦσθαι πέρι·
τὸ γὰρ τοπάζειν τοῦ σάφ' εἰδέναι δίχα.
Χο. ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι,
τρανῶς Ἀτρείδην εἰδέναι κυροῦνθ' ὅπως.
Κλ. πολλῶν πάροιθεν καιρίως εἰρημένων
τἀναντί' εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι.
πῶς γάρ τις ἐχθροῖς ἐχθρὰ πορσύνων, φίλοις
δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πημονῆς ἀρκύστατ' ἂν
φράξειεν, ὕψος κρεῖσσον ἐκπηδήματος;
ἐμοὶ δ' ἀγὼν ὅδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι
νείκης παλαιᾶς ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μήν·
ἕστηκα δ' ἔνθ' ἔπαισ' ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις.
οὕτω δ' ἔπραξα, καὶ τάδ' οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι·
ὡς μήτε φεύγειν μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μόρον,
ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων,
περιστιχίζω, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν.

1356 τῆς μελλοῦς Trypho : τῆς μελλούσης Fl V : μελλούσης Fa 1357 πέδοι Hermann : πέδον codd. 1362 τείνοντες Canter : κτείνοντες codd. 1364 κρατεῖ Casaubon : κράτει codd. 1368 θυμοῦσθαι E. A. I. Ahrens : μυθοῦσθαι codd. 1375 πημονῆς Auratus : πημονὴν codd. ἀρκύστατ' ἂν Elmsley : ἀρκύστατον codd. 1378 νείκης Heath : νίκης codd. 1383 περιστιχίζω Fa : περιστιχίζων V : περιστοιχίζων Fl

παίω δέ νιν δίς· κἀν δυοῖν οἰμωγμάτοιν
μεθῆκεν αὑτοῦ κῶλα· καὶ πεπτωκότι
τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς
Ἅιδου νεκρῶν σωτῆρος εὐκταίαν χάριν.
οὕτω τὸν αὑτοῦ θυμὸν ὁρμαίνει πεσών·
κἀκφυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν αἵματος σφαγὴν
βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου,
χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἢ διοσδότῳ
γάνει σπορητὸς κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν.
ὡς ὧδ' ἐχόντων, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,
χαίροιτ' ἄν, εἰ χαίροιτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεύχομαι.
εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων ὥστ' ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῷ,
τῷδ' ἂν δικαίως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν οὖν.
τοσόνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὅδε
πλήσας ἀραίων αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολών.
Χο. θαυμάζομέν σου γλῶσσαν, ὡς θρασύστομος,
ἥτις τοιόνδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ κομπάζεις λόγον.
Κλ. πειρᾶσθέ μου γυναικὸς ὡς ἀφράσμονος·
ἐγὼ δ' ἀτρέστῳ καρδίᾳ πρὸς εἰδότας
λέγω· σὺ δ' αἰνεῖν εἴτε με ψέγειν θέλεις
ὅμοιον. οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐμὸς
πόσις, νεκρὸς δέ, τῆσδε δεξιᾶς χερὸς
ἔργον, δικαίας τέκτονος. τάδ' ὧδ' ἔχει.

Χο. τί κακόν, ὦ γύναι, χθονοτρεφὲς ἐδανὸν
ἢ ποτὸν πασαμένα ῥυτᾶς ἐξ ἁλὸς ὄρμενον
τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος, δημοθρόους τ' ἀράς;
ἀπέδικες ἀπέταμές ⟨τ'·⟩ ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσει
μῖσος ὄβριμον ἀστοῖς.

1384 οἰμωγμάτοιν Elmsley : οἰμώγμασιν codd. 1387 Ἅιδου] Διὸς Enger 1391–2 διοσδότῳ γάνει Porson : Διὸς νότῳ γᾶν εἰ codd. 1396 τῷδ' Tyrwhitt : τάδ' codd. 1397 τοσόνδε Blomfield : τοσῶνδε codd. 1408 ῥυτᾶς Stanley : ῥυσᾶς codd. ὄρμενον Abresch : δρώμενον Fl V : ὀρώμενον Fa 1410 τ'· add. Kennedy ἀπόπολις Seidler : ἄπολις codd.

Κλ. νῦν μὲν δικάζεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγὴν ἐμοὶ
καὶ μῖσος ἀστῶν δημόθρους τ' ἔχειν ἀράς,
οὐδὲν τότ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἐναντίον φέρων·
ὃς οὐ προτιμῶν, ὡσπερεὶ βοτοῦ μόρον,
μήλων φλεόντων εὐπόκοις νομεύμασιν,
ἔθυσεν αὑτοῦ παῖδα, φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ
ὠδῖν', ἐπῳδὸν Θρῃκίων ἀημάτων.
οὐ τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε χρῆν σ' ἀνδρηλατεῖν,
μιασμάτων ἄποιν'; ἐπήκοος δ' ἐμῶν
ἔργων δικαστὴς τραχὺς εἶ. λέγω δέ σοι
τοιαῦτ' ἀπειλεῖν, ὡς παρεσκευασμένης
ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων χειρὶ νικήσαντ' ἐμοῦ
ἄρχειν· ἐὰν δὲ τοὔμπαλιν κραίνῃ θεός,
γνώσει διδαχθεὶς ὀψὲ γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

Χο. μεγαλόμητις εἶ, περίφρονα δ' ἔλακες·
ὥσπερ οὖν φονολιβεῖ τύχᾳ φρὴν ἐπιμαίνεται·
λίβος ἐπ' ὀμμάτων αἵματος ἐμπρέπει·
ἀτίετον ἔτι σὲ χρὴ στερομέναν φίλων
τύμμα τύμματι τῖσαι.

Κλ. καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούεις ὁρκίων ἐμῶν θέμιν·
μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς Δίκην,
Ἄτην Ἐρινύν θ', αἷσι τόνδ' ἔσφαξ' ἐγώ,
οὔ μοι φόβου μέλαθρον ἐλπὶς ἐμπατεῖ,
ἕως ἂν αἴθῃ πῦρ ἐφ' ἑστίας ἐμῆς
Αἴγισθος, ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν εὖ φρονῶν ἐμοί.
οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀσπὶς οὐ σμικρὰ θράσους.
κεῖται γυναικὸς τῆσδε λυμαντήριος,
Χρυσηίδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ·
ἥ τ' αἰχμάλωτος ἥδε καὶ τερασκόπος

1414 *τότ'* Voss : *τόδ'* codd. 1418 *ἀημάτων* Canter : *τελημμάτων* codd. 1419 *χρῆν* Porson : *χρή* codd. 1428 *λίβος* Casaubon : *λίπος* codd. *ἐμπρέπει* Auratus : *εὖ πρέπει* codd. 1430 *τύμματι* Voss : *τύμμα* iterum codd. 1435 *ἐμῆς* Porson : *ἐμὰς* codd.

καὶ κοινόλεκτρος τοῦδε, θεσφατηλόγος
πιστὴ ξύνευνος, ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων
ἰσοτριβής. ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ἡ δέ τοι κύκνου δίκην
τὸν ὕστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόον
κεῖται φιλήτωρ τῷδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν
εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς.

Χο. φεῦ, τίς ἂν ἐν τάχει, μὴ περιώδυνος, [στρ. α.
μηδὲ δεμνιοτήρης,
μόλοι τὸν αἰεὶ φέρουσ' ἐν ἡμῖν
Μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον, δαμέντος
φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου
πολέα τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί;
πρὸς γυναικὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον.

ἰὼ ἰὼ παράνους Ἑλένα [ἐφυμν. α. (στρ. β.)
μία τὰς πολλάς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς
ψυχὰς ὀλέσασ' ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ.
† νῦν δὲ τελείαν . .
πολύμναστον ἐπηνθίσω δι' αἷμ' ἄνιπτον,
ἥτις ἦν τότ' ἐν δόμοις
ἔρις ἐρίδματος ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς †.

Κλ. μηδὲν θανάτου μοῖραν ἐπεύχου [στρ. γ.
τοῖσδε βαρυνθείς·
μηδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέψῃς,
ὡς ἀνδρολέτειρ', ὡς μία πολλῶν
ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς Δαναῶν ὀλέσασ'
ἀξύστατον ἄλγος ἔπραξε.

1443 *ἰσοτριβής* Pauw : *ἰστοτριβής* codd. 1446 *τῷδ'* Hermann : *τοῦδ'* codd. 1453 *πολέα* Haupt : *καὶ πολλὰ* codd. 1455 *ἰὼ ἰὼ* Blomfield : *ἰὼ* codd. *παράνους* Hermann : *παρανόμους* codd. 1458-61 metro sensuque incerta, ut in codd. leguntur, reliqui : post 1458 lacunam indicat Hermann, ut huic ephymnio respondeant vv. 1537-50 1458 *τελείαν*] *τέλειον* Hartung, nihil excidisse ratus 1459 *δι'* omitt. Wellauer, Hermann 1460 *ἥτις*] *ἦ τις* Schütz

Χο. δαῖμον, ὃς ἐμπίτνεις δώμασι καὶ [ἀντ. α.
διφυίοισι Ταντα λίδαισιν,
κράτος ⟨τ'⟩ ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν
καρδιόδηκτον ἐμοὶ κρατύνεις.
ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος δίκαν [μοι]
κόρακος ἐχθροῦ σταθεῖσ' ἐκνόμως
ὕμνον ὑμνεῖν ἐπεύχεται . . .

Κλ. νῦν δ' ὤρθωσας στόματος γνώμην, [ἀντ. γ.
τὸν τριπάχυντον
δαίμονα γέννης τῆσδε κικλήσκων.
ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἱματολοιχὸς
νείρῃ τρέφεται, πρὶν καταλῆξαι
τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ.

Χο. ἦ μέγαν οἰκονόμον [στρ. δ.
δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς,
φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτη-
ρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου·
ἰὴ ἰή, διαὶ Διὸς
παναιτίου πανεργέτα·
τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;
τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντόν ἐστιν;

ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ, [ἐφυμν. β.
πῶς σε δακρύσω;
φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἴπω;
κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'

1468 ἐμπίτνεις Canter: ἐμπίπτεις codd. 1469 διφυίοισι Hermann: διφυεῖσι codd. ταντα λίδεσιν codd. 1470 τ' add. Hermann 1471 καρδιόδηκτον Abresch: καρδία δηκτὸν codd. 1472 μοι seclusit Dindorf 1473 σταθεῖσ' Stanley: σταθεὶς codd. ἐκνόμως Fa: ἐννόμως Fl V 1474 δόμοις supplet Butler: νεκρῷ Enger Post 1474 iterat vv. 1455–61 Burney, ut ephymnio 1 respondeant 1476 τριπάχυντον Bamberger: τριπάχυιον codd. 1479 νείρῃ Casaubon: νείρει codd. 1481 οἰκονόμον Schneider: οἴκοις τοῖσδε codd. 1486 πανεργέτα Fa: πανεργέταν Fl V

ἀσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων.
ὤμοι μοι κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον
δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμεὶς ⟨δάμαρτος⟩
ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ.

Κλ. αὐχεῖς εἶναι τόδε τοὔργον ἐμόν· [στρ. ε.
μηδ' ἐπιλεχθῇς
Ἀγαμεμνονίαν εἶναί μ' ἄλοχον.
φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ
τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμὺς ἀλάστωρ
Ἀτρέως χαλεποῦ θοινατῆρος
τόνδ' ἀπέτισεν,
τέλεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσας.

Χο. ὡς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ [ἀντ. δ.
τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων;
πῶ πῶ; πατρόθεν δὲ συλλή-
πτωρ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀλάστωρ.
βιάζεται δ' ὁμοσπόροις
ἐπιρροαῖσιν αἱμάτων
μέλας Ἄρης, ὅποι δίκαν προβαίνων
πάχνᾳ κουροβόρῳ παρέξει.

ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ, [ἐφυμν. β.
πῶς σε δακρύσω;
φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἴπω;
κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'
ἀσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων.
ὤμοι μοι κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον
δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμεὶς ⟨δάμαρτος⟩
ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ.

1495 δάμαρτος add. Enger: idem 1519 1498 ἐπιλέξῃς Voss 1511 δίκαν Scholefield: δίκην Butler: δὲ καὶ codd. προβαίνων Canter: προσβαίνων codd.

Κλ. [οὔτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον
τῷδε γενέσθαι.]

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος δολίαν ἄτην [ἀντ. ε.
οἴκοισιν ἔθηκ';
ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἀερθέν,
τὴν πολυκλαύτην Ἰφιγενείαν,
ἄξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχων
μηδὲν ἐν Ἅιδου μεγαλαυχείτω,
ξιφοδηλήτῳ
θανάτῳ τίσας ἅπερ ἦρξεν.

Χο. ἀμηχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεὶς [στρ. ζ.
εὐπάλαμον μέριμναν
ὅπα τράπωμαι, πίτνοντος οἴκου.
δέδοικα δ' ὄμβρου κτύπον δομοσφαλῆ
τὸν αἱματηρόν· ψακὰς δὲ λήγει.
δίκην δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θηγάνει βλάβης
πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάναισι Μοῖρα.

ἰὼ γᾶ γᾶ, εἴθ' ἔμ' ἐδέξω, [ἐφ. γ. (ἀντ. β.)
πρὶν τόνδ' ἐπιδεῖν ἀργυροτοίχου
δροίτας κατέχοντα χαμεύνην.
τίς ὁ θάψων νιν; τίς ὁ θρηνήσων;
ἦ σὺ τόδ' ἔρξαι τλήσει, κτείνασ'
ἄνδρα τὸν αὑτῆς ἀποκωκῦσαι,
ψυχῇ τ' ἄχαριν χάριν ἀντ' ἔργων
μεγάλων ἀδίκως ἐπικρᾶναι;
τίς δ' ἐπιτύμβιον αἶνον ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θείῳ
σὺν δακρύοις ἰάπτων
ἀλαθείᾳ φρενῶν πονήσει;

1521–2 seclusit Seidler 1526 *πολυκλαύτην* Porson : *πολύκλαυτόν τ'* codd. 1527 *ἄξια* ante *δράσας* Hermann : *ἀνάξια* codd. 1529 *ἔρξεν* Spanheim 1535 *δίκην* Auratus : *δίκη* codd. *θηγάνει* Hermann : *θήγει* codd. [fort. *Δίκα δ' . . . θηγάναις μάχαιραν* Musgrave] 1545 *ψυχῇ τ'* E. A. I. Ahrens : *ψυχὴν* codd. 1547 *ἐπιτύμβιον αἶνον* Voss : *ἐπιτύμβιος αἶνος* codd.

Κλ. οὐ σὲ προσήκει τὸ μέλημ' ἀλέγειν [στρ. η.
τοῦτο· πρὸς ἡμῶν
κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν
οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων, . .
ἀλλ' Ἰφιγένειά νιν ἀσπασίως
θυγάτηρ, ὡς χρή,
πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὠκύπορον
πόρθμευμ' ἀχέων
περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα φιλήσει.

Χο. ὄνειδος ἥκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὀνείδους. [ἀντ. ζ.
δύσμαχα δ' ἔστι κρῖναι.
φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων.
μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν θρόνῳ Διὸς
παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα· θέσμιον γάρ.
τίς ἂν γονὰν ἀραῖον ἐκβάλοι δόμων;
κεκόλληται γένος πρὸς ἄτᾳ.

Κλ. ἐς τόνδ' ἐνέβη ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ [ἀντ. η.
χρησμός. ἐγὼ δ' οὖν
ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενιδῶν
ὅρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν,
δύστλητά περ ὄνθ'· ὃ δὲ λοιπόν, ἰόντ'
ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεὰν
τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισι·
κτεάνων τε μέρος
βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι
μανίας μελάθρων
ἀλληλοφόνους ἀφελούσῃ.

1551 *μέλημ' ἀλέγειν* Karsten : *μέλημα λέγειν* codd. post 1554 duo versus excidisse indicavit Hermann 1555 *Ἰφιγένειά νιν* Auratus : *Ἰφιγένειαν ἶν'* codd. 1559 *χεῖρε* Porson : *χεῖρα* codd. 1563 *θρόνῳ* Schütz : *χρόνῳ* codd. 1565 *ἀραῖον* Hermann : *ῥᾷον* codd. 1566 *πρὸς ἄτᾳ* Blomfield : *προσάψαι* codd. Post 1566 iterat vv. 1537–50 Burney 1568 *χρησμός* Casaubon : *χρησμόν* codd. 1574–6 *μοι δ' ἀλληλοφόνους μανίας μελάθρων* codd. δ' eiecit Canter : ordinem mutavit Erfurdt

ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ

ὦ φέγγος εὖφρον ἡμέρας δικηφόρου.
φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους
θεοὺς ἄνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχη,
ἰδὼν ὑφαντοῖς ἐν πέπλοις Ἐρινύων
τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε κείμενον φίλως ἐμοί,
χερὸς πατρῴας ἐκτίνοντα μηχανάς.
Ἀτρεὺς γὰρ ἄρχων τῆσδε γῆς, τούτου πατήρ,
πατέρα Θυέστην τὸν ἐμόν, ὡς τορῶς φράσαι,
αὐτοῦ δ' ἀδελφόν, ἀμφίλεκτος ὢν κράτει,
ἠνδρηλάτησεν ἐκ πόλεώς τε καὶ δόμων.
καὶ προστρόπαιος ἑστίας μολὼν πάλιν
τλήμων Θυέστης μοῖραν ηὕρετ' ἀσφαλῆ,
τὸ μὴ θανὼν πατρῷον αἱμάξαι πέδον.
[αὐτοῦ] ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατὴρ
[Ἀτρεύς, προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως,] πατρὶ
τὠμῷ, κρεουργὸν ἦμαρ εὐθύμως ἄγειν
δοκῶν, παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν.
τὰ μὲν ποδήρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας
ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος
ἄσημ'· ὁ δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοίᾳ λαβὼν
ἔσθει βορὰν ἄσωτον, ὡς ὁρᾷς, γένει.
κἄπειτ' ἐπιγνοὺς ἔργον οὐ καταίσιον
ᾤμωξεν, ἀμπίπτει δ' ἀπὸ σφαγὴν ἐρῶν,
μόρον δ' ἄφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται,
λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθεὶς ἀρᾷ,
οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθένους γένος.
ἐκ τῶνδέ σοι πεσόντα τόνδ' ἰδεῖν πάρα.
κἀγὼ δίκαιος τοῦδε τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς.

1580 πέπλοις] πάγαις Nauck 1585 αὐτοῦ δ' Elmsley: αὐτοῦ τ' codd. 1590–1 αὐτοῦ et Ἀτρεύς . . . φίλως seclusit Schütz 1595 fortasse καθημένοις Hermann 1596 ἄσημ'· ὁ δ' Dindorf: ἄσημα δ' codd. 1599 ἀμπίπτει Canter: ἄν, πίπτει codd. σφαγὴν Auratus: σφαγῆς codd. 1602 ὀλέσθαι Porson: ὀλέσθη codd.

τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἐπὶ δυσαθλίῳ πατρὶ
συνεξελαύνει τυτθὸν ὄντ' ἐν σπαργάνοις·
τραφέντα δ' αὖθις ἡ δίκη κατήγαγεν.
καὶ τοῦδε τἀνδρὸς ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὤν,
πᾶσαν συνάψας μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας.
οὕτω καλὸν δὴ καὶ τὸ κατθανεῖν ἐμοί,
ἰδόντα τοῦτον τῆς δίκης ἐν ἕρκεσιν.
Χο. Αἴγισθ', ὑβρίζειν ἐν κακοῖσιν οὐ σέβω.
σὺ δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε φῂς ἑκὼν κατακτανεῖν,
μόνος δ' ἔποικτον τόνδε βουλεῦσαι φόνον·
οὔ φημ' ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκῃ τὸ σὸν κάρα
δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμους ἀράς.
Αι. σὺ ταῦτα φωνεῖς νερτέρᾳ προσήμενος
κώπῃ, κρατούντων τῶν ἐπὶ ζυγῷ δορός;
γνώσει γέρων ὢν ὡς διδάσκεσθαι βαρὺ
τῷ τηλικούτῳ, σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον.
δεσμὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ γῆρας αἵ τε νήστιδες
δύαι διδάσκειν ἐξοχώταται φρενῶν
ἰατρομάντεις. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὁρῶν τάδε;
πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ παίσας μογῇς.
Χο. γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἥκοντας ἐκ μάχης μένων
οἰκουρὸς εὐνὴν ἀνδρὸς αἰσχύνας ἅμα
ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον;
Αι. καὶ ταῦτα τἄπη κλαυμάτων ἀρχηγενῆ.
Ὀρφεῖ δὲ γλῶσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεις.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾷ,
σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας νηπίοις ὑλάγμασιν
ἄξει· κρατηθεὶς δ' ἡμερώτερος φανεῖ.
Χο. ὡς δὴ σύ μοι τύραννος Ἀργείων ἔσει,

1605 δυσαθλίῳ Schömann: δέκ' ἀθλίῳ codd.: αὐτὸν ὄντα μ' ἀθλίῳ Wecklein 1611 ἰδόντι Fa 1612 κακοῖσιν] καμοῦσιν Porson 1613 τόνδε φῂς Pauw: τόνδ' ἔφης codd. 1621 δεσμὸς Fa: δεσμὸν FlV 1624 παίσας (ex schol. ad Pind. Pyth. ii) Hermann: πήσας codd. 1625 μένων Wieseler: νέον codd. 1626 αἰσχύνας Wieseler: αἰσχύνουσ' codd. 1631 νηπίοις Jacob: ἠπίοις codd.

ὃς οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ τῷδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον,
δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως.
Αι. τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναικὸς ἦν σαφῶς·
ἐγὼ δ' ὕποπτος ἐχθρὸς ἦ παλαιγενής.
ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦδε χρημάτων πειράσομαι
ἄρχειν πολιτῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνορα
ζεύξω βαρείαις οὔτι μοι σειραφόρον
κριθῶντα πῶλον· ἀλλ' ὁ δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ
λιμὸς ξύνοικος μαλθακόν σφ' ἐπόψεται.
Χο. τί δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κακῆς
οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠνάριζες, ἀλλά νιν γυνὴ
χώρας μίασμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων
ἔκτειν'; Ὀρέστης ἆρά που βλέπει φάος,
ὅπως κατελθὼν δεῦρο πρευμενεῖ τύχῃ
ἀμφοῖν γένηται τοῖνδε παγκρατὴς φονεύς;
Αι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς τάδ' ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν, γνώσει τάχα.
Χο. . . . .
Αι. εἶα δή, φίλοι λοχῖται, τοὔργον οὐχ ἑκὰς τόδε.
Χο. εἶα δή, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.
Αι. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀγὼ πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν.
Χο. δεχομένοις λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τὴν τύχην δ' αἱρούμεθα.
Κλ. μηδαμῶς, ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα δράσωμεν κακά.
ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδ' ἐξαμῆσαι πολλὰ δύστηνον θέρος·
πημονῆς δ' ἅλις γ' ὑπάρχει· μηδὲν αἱματώμεθα.
στεῖχε καὶ σὺ χοἰ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους
[τούσδε],

1634 τῷδ' ἐβούλευσας Fa: τῷδε βουλεύσας Fl V Post 1635 transponit vv. 1643–8 Heimsoeth 1637 ἦ Porson: ἢ codd. 1638 τῶν δὲ Jacob: τῶνδε codd. 1640 μοι Pauw: μὴ codd. 1641 δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ Scaliger: δυσφιλὴς κότῳ codd. 1644 νιν Spanheim: σὺν codd. Post 1649 versum excidisse indicat Hermann 1650 Aegistho dat Stanley; choro codd. 1653 αἱρούμεθα Auratus: ἐρούμεθα codd. 1654 δράσωμεν Victorius: δράσομεν codd. 1655 θέρος Schütz: ὁ ἔρως codd. 1656 ὑπάρχει Scaliger: ὕπαρχε codd. αἱματώμεθα Jacob: ἡματώμεθα codd. 1657 στεῖχε καὶ σὺ χοἰ Franz: στείχετε δ' οἱ codd. τούσδε seclusit Auratus

πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντες· ἀρκεῖν χρῆν τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν.
εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἅλις, δεχοίμεθ' ἄν,
δαίμονος χηλῇ βαρείᾳ δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι.
ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος γυναικός, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ μαθεῖν.
Αι. ἀλλὰ τούσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ὧδ' ἀπανθίσαι
κἀκβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα δαίμονος πειρωμένους,
σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἁμαρτεῖν τὸν κρατοῦντά ⟨θ'
ὑβρίσαι⟩.
Χο. οὐκ ἂν Ἀργείων τόδ' εἴη, φῶτα προσσαίνειν κακόν.
Αι. ἀλλ' ἐγώ σ' ἐν ὑστέραισιν ἡμέραις μέτειμ' ἔτι.
Χο. οὔκ, ἐὰν δαίμων Ὀρέστην δεῦρ' ἀπευθύνῃ μολεῖν.
Αι. οἶδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους.
Χο. πρᾶσσε, πιαίνου, μιαίνων τὴν δίκην, ἐπεὶ πάρα.
Αι. ἴσθι μοι δώσων ἄποινα τῆσδε μωρίας χάριν.
Χο. κόμπασον θαρσῶν, ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας.
Κλ. μὴ προτιμήσῃς ματαίων τῶνδ' ὑλαγμάτων· ⟨ἐγὼ⟩
καὶ σὺ θήσομεν κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωμάτων ⟨καλῶς⟩.

1658 ἔρξαντες· ἀρκεῖν Hermann: ἔρξαντες καιρὸν Fl: ἔρξαντα καιρὸν V Fa 1659 δεχοίμεθ' Martin: γ' ἐχοίμεθ' codd. 1662 τούσδ' ἐμοὶ Voss: τούσδε μοι codd. 1663 δαίμονος Casaubon: δαίμονας codd. 1664 ἁμαρτεῖν τὸν Casaubon: ἁμαρτῆτον Fl Fa θ' ὑβρίσαι add. Blomfield 1671 ὥστε Scaliger: ὥσπερ codd. 1672–3 ἐγὼ et καλῶς addiderunt Canter et Auratus e schol.

CLARENDON PRESS SERIES

AESCHYLUS

AGAMEMNON

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PART II—NOTES

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NOTES.

[Prologue. *The palace of Agamemnon at Argos, at night. Enter a watchman, who reclines head on arm, and soliloquises:*

(ll. 1–39.) 'For a year I have been watching for the fire to tell of Troy's capture; the life here is one of sadness and anxiety: now I hope for better things.' The light then appears, and he bursts into a shout of joy, broken by gloomy hints at the close.]

l. 1. The place is called Argos, and the people Argeioi, all through the play. According to the old tradition, however, Agamemnon was king of Mykenae, a town about six miles from Argos. Homer (2. 569) enumerates the towns which formed his kingdom. The use of the name Argos for Mykenae was nevertheless common in the Greek poets, and it was all the more natural now, as about B.C. 463 (five years before 458, the date of the play) Argos had defeated and dismantled Mykenae, and sold or expelled the inhabitants. Soon after this the Argeioi became allied with Athens.

The watchman is a loyal servant of Agamemnon, sent to watch for the beacon-fire which is to tell of the capture of Troy. It is possible, however, that the queen wishes for her own purposes to have early tidings of her lord's return. (Patin, Eschyle, 314.)

l. 2. 'Through this long year of watching,' lit. 'through the length of a year's watch.' **μῆκος**, acc. of duration. (It is possible to take **φρουρᾶς** as app. to **πόνων**, and **μῆκος** acc. of respect, 'these toils, my watch a year in length,' but it makes a rougher, more artificial, construction The conjecture **μῆχος**, 'cure,' which D. adopted, is ingenious, but quite unnecessary.) **ἣν κοιμώμενος**, 'wherein resting.' **ἣν** cognate or internal acc.

l. 3. **στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην**, 'on the roof of the Atreidae couched head on arm, like a dog.' **ἄγκαθεν** from *ἄγκη*, 'bent arm' (like the common Homeric *ἀγκάς* in *ἀγκὰς ἑλεῖν, ἀγκὰς ἔχειν, κ.τ.λ.* 'to hold, or take in the arm'), found Eum. 80 *ἄγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας*: quite a different word from *ἀνέκαθεν* (from *ἄνω, ἕκαθεν*,) 'from above,' which is clearly the right reading in Eum. 369.

Eng., Schn., Dind., read *στέγης*, and construe *ἄγκαθεν*, 'above,' con-

tracted from ἀνέκαθεν, which makes good sense, but it is unlikely that Aeschylus should have used the rare word ἀνέκαθεν in a form syncopated so as to confuse it with the different word ἄγκαθεν, which we know he also uses in Eum. 80.

l. 4. **κάτοιδα**, 'I know well,' 'I have learnt to know.'

l. 6. **δυνάστας**, bright 'rulers,' as he finely calls the leading constellations whose rise marks the seasons; not 'the sun and moon,' as Pal., which in no sense bring summer and winter.

l. 7. Is no doubt a gloss. **ἀστέρας** is rough rhythm, a dull repetition after ἄστρων, superfluous to the construction with δυνάστας in the line before; and the whole line rather produces the effect of bathos.

l. 8. Notice the rhetorical repetitions, **λαμπάδος .. πυρός, φάτιν .. βάξιν. φυλάσσω**, 'I watch for.'

l. 10. **ἁλώσιμον .. βάξιν**, 'tidings of capture,' a rare use of the adj.; in poetry, however, there is hardly any relation to the substantive which the adj. cannot express. **ὧδε γάρ**, best taken simply, 'for such sway she bears, my mistress' manly heart, nursing her hope,' i.e. for I am forced to obey her. (So Eng., Schn.; Paley's κρατεῖ ἐλπίζον, 'confident in hope,' is forced and unusual; and the order is against it.) The phrase is slightly strained but not unnatural. Others take it 'for so she orders' simply: but κρατεῖ is not so used.

l. 12. The clause **εὖτ' ἂν .. ἔχω**, is interrupted by the parenthesis φόβος γὰρ .. ὕπνῳ, and taken up again loosely but naturally by ὅταν δέ .., so that the general sense is 'and when I keep my weary watch (for fear prevents my sleeping), and try to while away the time by song.'

l. 14. **ἐμήν**, with the double emphasis of being last word of the sentence and first word of the line, is very weak, and is perhaps a corruption of εὐνήν in the line before, as Hartung suggests: though neither Bentley's ἐμοί, nor Schn.'s τί μήν; is satisfactory: and we do find weak words in that position, cf. 1232, 1589. **φόβος**, 'the fear,' is of what will follow when the king returns; but it is only a hint, as in 19 and 31.

l. 15. **τὸ μὴ .. συμβαλεῖν**, a common Greek idiom, being one form of the consecutive infinitive, expressing the *result*, the sense being 'so that I cannot,' 'preventing me from.'

l. 16. **ἀείδειν.** There is a proverb 'singing on watch,' (φρουρᾶς ᾄδων) Arist. Clouds, 720. **μινύρομαι**, 'to hum,' or 'warble,' properly 'to sing in a low tone,' used often of birds. The full phrase is found Ar. Eccl. 880 μινυρομένη πρὸς ἐμαυτὴν μέλος (of a woman waiting and humming a tune to while away the time). **δοκῶ**, 'I think to,' as we say. So Ar. Vesp. 177 τὸν ὄνον ἐξάγειν δοκῶ, Av. 671 φιλῆσαί μοι δοκῶ. (The construction is really an attraction into the *personal* from the *impersonal*, instead of saying δοκεῖ μοι ... So the Greeks say δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖν for δίκαιόν μοι ἐστὶ ποιεῖν. See 1079.)

l. 17. 'Shredding in this vocal cure in place of sleep.' **ἐντέμνω**, 'to slice or shred in,' is used of putting (medicinal) herbs into a potion; so here metaphorically. (K.'s ἐν τέμνω is not happy; if τέμνω is admitted, what more natural than ἐντέμνω?) Observe the mixture of sententiousness and forcible homeliness in the speech of this servant: his repetitions (8–10), and antithesis (11, 21–22), and dark hints (39), and his homely metaphors from watchdogs (3), drugs (71), dicing (32–33), oxen (36), are all characteristic.

l. 19. This cautious phrase might simply mean that the 'absence of the king was felt;' but 'to those who know' (39) it meant the unfaithfulness of Klytaemnestra.

l. 21. 'When with glad tidings shines the fire of darkness,' a sententious antithesis such as the rustic wit delights in. So **νυκτός, ἡμερήσιον**, 22. [*At this point the beacon he is watching for flashes out.* He is supposed to be looking northward toward the Argolic mountain, Arachnaion, which was the last beacon before Argos, 309.]

l. 22. 'Thou blaze of night, a daylight glare revealing,' is another of his antitheses.

l. 24. **συμφορά**, 'hap,' 'event,' a neutral word, here in good sense, though mostly used in a bad one.

l. 25. **ἰοῦ, ἰοῦ.** 'Hurrah!' exclamation of joy here: though more often of horror and woe, as 1214.

l. 26. The MSS. vary between **σημαίνω** (M. G.) and σημανῶ: the latter expresses his *intention* of telling Klytaemnestra; the former means 'by this cry ἰοῦ I signify to K.,' and that is rather more vigorous, and also suits **τορῶς**, 'loudly,' better.

l. 27. The constr. is the acc. inf. of the oblique petition, 'I signify that she should rise from her bed and upraise a shout,' etc. **ἐπαντείλασαν** (notice the syncope, for ἐπ-ανα-τείλασαν), a picturesque word suggesting the rise of sun or star. **δόμοις** might be dat. recip. 'for the house;' but more likely it is the *local* use 'in the house,' an old fashion surviving in poetry.

l. 29. **εἴπερ**, 'since,' as often.

l. 30. **ἀγγέλλων πρέπει**, 'brightly tells,' lit. 'shines telling.' Again a picturesque phrase. (ἀγγέλων of Med. etc. is clearly an error.)

l. 31. [*Here the watchman executes a triumphal dance.*]

ll. 32–33. These two lines become clear when one sees that the metaphor is all from dicing: 'My master's luck I'll mark as prosperous, now that this fire has thrown me sixes three.' **θέσθαι**, 'to put it down,' as we say; somewhat as θέσθαι παρ' οὐδέν, ἐν ἀδικήματι θέσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

l. 34. **δ' οὖν.** The regular use of these particles is in *dismissing a subject*, *cutting short* a train of thought, *resuming* after a digression, and such situations. ἔστω δ' οὖν ὅπως ὑμῖν φίλον Soph. O. C. 1205, οὐκ οἶδ'.

ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν ἥ τ' ἄγαν σιγὴ βαρύ ib. Ant. 1250. So Ag. 224, 255. 'Well, be it mine to grasp my lord's dear hand.'

l. 35. **βαστάζω**, prop. 'to bear, or lift,' so 'to feel,' 'to hold.' *χέρα ἀλόχου β.* Eur. Alc. 917; *σῶμα β.* Soph. O. C. 1105.

l. 36. The first shadow of the tragedy falls on the almost boisterous joy and playfulness of the rustic watcher, namely the dark hint of the unfaithfulness of Klytaemnestra, which is to lead to the 'worse that remains behind.' **βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ .. βέβηκε**, 'a huge ox stands upon my tongue,' a pithy rustic metaphor for enforced silence; **βοῦς** being proverbially a *silent* animal (the idea of a reference to *bribery*—**βοῦς** being the ox on the old Attic coins—is less likely). **βέβηκε**, 'stands,' 'lies,' present sense, as is natural to perfect. So *χῶρος ἐν ᾧ βεβήκαμεν*, 'where we stand,' Soph. O. C. 52; *ἐπὶ πώλου βεβῶσαν*, 'riding,' 'seated,' *ib.* O. C. 313.

ll. 38–9. **ὡς**, 'for,' gives the reason for *σιγῶ*. **ἑκών**, 'purposely,' goes with **λήθομαι** chiefly (as Eng., Schn., Pal., point out), the first verb, **αὐδῶ**, being less important. (Observe the Epic *μαθοῦσι* for *τοῖς μ.*) 'For purposely, as I speak to those who know, to those who know not—I forget.' **λήθομαι** is rather unexpected, and is another touch of what may be almost called his rustic playfulness. With this dark hint he goes off; and the chorus of Argive elders enter the orchestra by the side passage (*πάροδος*). The proper choral odes begin 104. **μαθοῦσι**, see 59.

[Parodos. ll. 40–103. *Enter the chorus, marching in time to the anapaestic song.* The general sense of the opening or entrance song is as follows: 'Ten years are passed since the Atreidae sailed forth with the fleet for vengeance, like vultures robbed of their young (40–54). Zeus Xenios is wroth with Paris and sends the avenging host, bringing long struggles for both sides, and the end to be as fate wills' (55–71). *Meanwhile the queen Klytaemnestra appears, and begins the preparations for sacrifice.* 'What hast thou heard, lady? See, all the altars begin to blaze! What does it mean? We waver between anxiety and hope' (72–103).]

ll. 40–42. 'This is the tenth year since Priam's great foe King Menelaos and Agamemnon.' It has been noticed as odd that **μέγας ἀντίδικος** should be applied only to Menelaos, and that Agamemnon, the 'king of men,' is second. It may be only accidental, as in the next two lines (*ὀχυρὸν ζεῦγος*) and below (109 *δίθρονον κράτος*) they are treated with equal honour. Or, perhaps, **ἀντίδικος** is used strictly, and Menelaos comes first as the wronged party, Agamemnon being his helper. **ἀντίδικος**, metaphor from law-courts, meaning simply 'antagonist.' **ἐπεί** and even *ὅτε* are used in this sense 'since;' the precise phrase is *ἐξ οὗ*.

l. 43. **διθρόνου .. τιμῆς**, gen. of *description* or *equivalence* as it is called, one of the numerous shades of *relation* described by genitive.

Translate, 'The mighty pair of Atreus' sons, each dowered from Zeus with rank of throne and sceptre.' (It is literally, 'pair of Atreidae, of two-throned honour,' etc., i.e. 'consisting of;' the *τιμή* is the abstract aspect of the kings.) Grammatically *τιμῆς* and *'Ατρειδᾶν* are parallel, both being gen. after *ζεῦγος*. **Διόθεν** qualifies the adjectives. **'Ατρειδᾶν**, Doric gen.; the choruses contain many Doric forms.

l. 47. **ἦραν**, 'sped;' *αἴρω*, prop. 'to lift,' is used commonly for 'to start,' both trans. *στόλον*, *στρατόν*, and intrans. *στρατῷ*, *ναυσί*, both of land and sea. It probably originally meant simply 'to take up' your things and be off.

l. 49. **τρόπον** (acc. of *apposition* to sentence, like *δίκην*, *χάριν*), 'like.'

l. 50. **οἵτε**, Epic form of rel. **ἐκπατίοις** (*πάτος*, 'path'), 'out of the path,' may mean either 'strange,' 'unbounded,' 'terrible,' or 'lonely;' the latter very well suits the eagles wheeling over their craggy nests; and is the meaning given by the Scholiast. **παίδων**, 'for their young.' Gen. of relation, common after words of feeling, as anger, grief, surprise, etc. [Blomfield's *ἐκπάγλοις* is very probable.]

l. 51. **ὕπατοι λεχέων**, 'high o'er their nest.' *ὕπατος* governing gen. much as *ὑπέρ* does, by a slight extension of usage.

l. 52. 'The oarage of their wing,' a fine phrase for the flight of large birds. Lucretius, 6. 743, imitates (*remigi oblitae pennarum*) and Vergil has followed (*remigio alarum*, Aen. 1. 301, 6. 19).

l. 53. **δεμνιοτήρη πόνον ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες**, 'having lost the guardian-task of their brood,' i.e. 'the task of keeping the nest:' the adj. describes in what the task consists. The word occurs again 1449, in the sense of 'keeping the bed,' i.e. 'confining to bed' of sickness.

l. 55. 'Above there is one that hears, either Apollo,' etc. Observe idiomatic use of **τις**, where we should say 'perchance,' So Verg. Aen. 1. 182 'Anthea *si quem* iactatum vento videat.' *Apollo* protects the birds as god of augury: *Pan* as god of the forest and wild animals: *Zeus* as god of justice. (Schn.)

l. 56. Notice the loaded adjectives, in Aeschylus' weighty manner, 'the shrill lament of winged mourners who dwell in his skies:' **μετοίκων** being a finely imaginative word: the birds are the *sojourners* in the god's home.

l. 59. **παραβᾶσιν**, 'to the transgressors,' the older Epic use of the partic. without *τοῖς*. So *μαθοῦσι* 39.

l. 61. **ἐπ' 'Αλεξάνδρῳ**, 'against Paris;' *ἐπί* with dat. lit. 'on' (as we say, 'he marched on Rome'). It is an Epic use, see illustrations on 357; in Attic and prose it would be acc. **ξένιος**, because the crime of the rape of Helen was an offence against the sacred laws of hospitality, which were under the protection of Zeus Xenios.

l. 62. **πολυάνορος**, 'wooed by many a suitor.'

l. 64. Gen. abs. 'when the knee is bowed in the dust.' **ἐρειδομένου**, lit. 'resting.'

l. 65. **προτέλεια**, 'the prelude,' usually the sacrifice before marriage (τέλος, 'rite'); here the 'prelude of the battle,' but suggesting the other sense, that the fighting was a bitter *marriage-prelude* for Paris.

l. 67. **ἔστι ὅπῃ νῦν ἔστι**, 'the issue is—as it is now,' an intentionally enigmatic sentence. In the mouth of the chorus it naturally means 'there is good news; the Trojans are vanquished' (though they do not as yet know the details). But to the spectators it has a second and deeper meaning, as Agamemnon is returning to find unfaithfulness, conspiracy, and murder, and so in a terrible sense **τελεῖται ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον**, 'it draws to its fated end.'

The Greek dramas are full of such double meanings, bearing only a single sense to the speaker; and the contrast between the two senses, or between the position of the speaker as he conceived it, and as it was known to the audience, often formed most effective situations, of Dramatic Irony, as it has been called.

ll. 69–71. **ὑποκλαίων** of the MSS. gives a tiresome repetition with **δακρύων**, so I have taken Casaubon's **ὑποκαίων** (adopted by Eng., Schn.), making a very natural antithesis of *offering* and *libation*. The sense will then be, 'Neither by secret offering, nor by secret libation, nor by tears shall one soothe their stubborn wrath (i.e. the gods' wrath) for the unburnt sacrifices.' Again a double meaning. (1) In the chorus' mouth it means, 'The Trojans cannot soothe their angry gods by any expiation;' but (2) to the spectators it has a second deeper sense, 'Agamemnon cannot by any offering assuage the anger of the gods for his sacrifice of Iphigeneia.' It is hard however to be sure what is the meaning of **ἀπύρων ἱερῶν**; in (1), or the surface sense, it may mean 'rejected sacrifice' (offering which will not burn); or as Schn., Pal., 'unholy rite' (rite without fire, i.e. the marriage of Helen and Paris); or thirdly, as Enger, 'Shall soothe the stubborn wrath *of* the unlit sacrifice,' the wrath of the god being transferred to the sacrifice which will not burn.

l. 72. **ἀτῖται**, 'unhonoured' is the best sense (though the termination is rare in passive sense, cp. ἀφέτης, κηροδέτης). [Others say 'not-paying,' i.e. either 'not serving' or 'not avenging;' but both are less smooth and natural.]

l. 73. **ἀρωγῆς**, common gen. after λείπεσθαι, ἡσσᾶσθαι, etc., like gen. after comparative, 'left out of the army that gave aid.'

l. 77. **ἀνᾴσσων**, 'leaping' (H., Dind., Schn., Eng.), better far than ἀνάσσων, 'ruling' (MSS. and Pal.). The gen. sense is, 'the strength of the old is like children's (ἰσχὺν ἰσόπαιδα); for the very young vigour is as unfit for war as the very old feebleness.' In 76–82 he simply develops the idea 'the old are no better than children.'

l. 78. **ἰσόπρεσβυς**, 'is like unto age,' i.e. the vigour of boyhood is yet no fitter for war than decrepit age. **Ἄρης .. χώρᾳ**, 'and Ares is not in his place,' i.e. is not *there* in his place, his place being the full-grown man. κατὰ χώραν is the prose phrase for **ἐνὶ χώρᾳ**.

l. 79. **τό θ' ὑπέργηρων**, 'and the last old age,' the neuter expressing the *class*, like τὸ νέον, τὸ καλόν; by a loose but natural construction it becomes masc. at 81, στείχει, a vivid personal verb, having prepared the way.

The MSS. are corrupt, only Fa. reads as above. We might read τί θ' ὑπέργηρως, 'what of the very old?' with Eng., but prefer to follow Fa., the question being not very idiomatic or natural.

l. 80. **τρίποδας**, 'the three foot ways' are of course the old men walking with a stick.

l. 82. 'He strays, a mid-day dream,' a feeble shadowy life. The day-dream being even more unreal than the night-dieam.

[*While this song has been singing, the queen Klytaemnestra comes out and begins to make arrangements for the sacrificing, lighting up the altars and ordering about her train of maidens. The chorus address her directly.*]

l. 83. **Τυνδάρεω**, irregular gen. from Τυνδαρεύς, as though Ionic gen. of Τυνδάρης.

l. 87. **πευθοῖ**, 'from hearing;' most MSS. have πειθοῖ, 'from belief,' a commoner but less appropriate word. Fl. has πυθοῖ, which suggests the real reading. **περίπεμπτα θυοσκεῖς**, 'art sacrificing by word sent round?' i.e. 'art sending round the word to sacrifice?' **περίπεμπτα** being adverbial (strictly, in agreement with cogn. acc.). **θυοσκεῖς**, MSS. θυοσκινεῖς, probably corrupted to complete the full line. The right word, **θυοσκεῖς**, is restored from Hesych. (θυος, κα- καίω, 'to burn offering.')

l. 88. 'And of all the gods that guard our city, above, below, in the heavens, in the mart.' **ἀστυνόμοι**, the same as the commoner words πολιοῦχοι and πολισσοῦχοι. **ὕπατοι** were gods like Zeus, Apollo, Hera, etc. **χθόνιοι** were Ge, Pluto, Hermes, Eumenides, etc.

The other antithesis, 'in the heavens, in the mart,' is less obvious, but by **ἀγοραῖοι** he probably means those who do specially preside over the city-life; by **οὐράνιοι** those who do not. Ἀγοραῖος is applied to *Zeus* (Eum. 979), to *Hermes* (Ar. Eq. 297), to *Artemis* and *Athena* (Paus. 3. 11. 9). (In Theb. 257 τοῖς πολισσούχοις θεοῖς Πεδιονόμοις τε κἀγορᾶς ἐπισκόποις, a different division is apparently meant, 'all our native gods, of the country and the town.')

l. 93. **ἀνίσχει**, 'arises,' intrans., as often from Homer onwards, esp. of the sun. See Lexicon.

l. 94. 'The pure unguent's soft and guileless spell' is a thoroughly

Aeschylean phrase, loaded and imaginative. It is called 'guileless' probably simply because **παρηγορία**, 'persuasion,' was so often guileful: the persuasion of oil to fire is genuine.

l. 96. **πέλανος**, 'a clot or lump' of solid or thick liquid, so here of oil. **μυχόθεν**, 'from the inner store,' adv. used (with the looseness of the primitive style of Aeschylus) to qualify the subs. **πελάνῳ**.

The MSS. reading **βασιλείῳ** quite good. It is needless to alter it to *-ων*.

l. 97. **λέξασα . . παιών τε γενοῦ**, the **τε** is not wanted, but it is a very natural anacoluthon. (Eng., Hart., Karst., etc., read *λέξαις*, which sets the grammar right, but is needless.)

l. 98. **αἰνεῖν**, in old sense, 'to tell of.'

l. 100. 'Which now is bitter, and now again hope from the altar fires bright shining drives back the relentless care of the grief that gnaws the heart.' The change in the constr. is very natural, and more effective than if he had finished the sentence strictly, 'and now again is lighter,' or something of that sort.

l. 101. I keep **ἀγανὰ φαίνουσ'**, on the whole nearest to the MSS., **φαίνουσα** meaning 'shining,' common intransitive use.

l. 103. The reading is Hermann's; without much change from the text of Fl., we might read **τῆs θυμοβόρου φρένα λύπης** or *τὴν θυμόβορον φρένα λύπην*. The latter is in apposition to *φροντίδ'*, the former is governed by it. I follow H., Schn., Eng., in preferring the genitive; the mass of accusatives is so very clumsy. In either case **φρένα** is governed by the adj., a rare construction. Cp. 1090 *πολλὰ συνίστορα*, Pr. 904 *ἄπορα πόριμος*, Soph. Antig. 786 *σὲ φύξιμος*, where however the adjectives are more like simple verbals, and so the construction is easier. [Perhaps *λύπης, θυμοφθόρον ἄτην* (Ahrens) is better.]

[*Klytaemnestra has finished her preparations and has retired.*

ll. 104–257. The general outline of the chorus' songs from here to the end 257 is as follows:

Strophe 1. (104–121.) I can tell the tale of victory, and the signs that went before—I yet am young enough for song—the omen of the two eagles, devouring a pregnant hare. (Woe, woe, but let the good prevail.)

Antistrophe 1. (122–139.) Kalchas the wise seer knew the sign, and prophesied: 'One day this host shall capture Troy. Only I pray no wrath of gods may strike it, for Artemis is angered against the eagles and pities the hare.' (Woe, woe, but let the good prevail.)

Epode (140–159). 'I pray Artemis therefore, though she loves the wild beasts, to suffer the triumph of the eagle princes. And Paean Apollo I invoke, to stay her from raising adverse gales, while she urges on a lawless sacrifice, the slaughter of a child, fraught with evils to

the house.' So Kalchas spake. (Woe, woe, but let the good prevail.)

Str. β'. (160–166). Zeus—whate'er his rightful name—is the greatest of all.

Ant. β'. (167–175). Ouranos and Kronos are passed away—Zeus is the victor.

Str. γ'. (176–183). Zeus has appointed a law, that man shall learn by suffering, reluctant though he be.

Ant. γ'. (184–191). So then Agamemnon—uncomplaining, when the host was wind-bound and suffering at Aulis [*Str.* δ'. 192–204], and the delay was destroying the ships and men—but when Kalchas advised a bitter cure, the slaughter of Iphigeneia, to appease Artemis [*Ant.* δ'. 205–216], then Agamemnon spake: ''Tis evil to disobey, and evil to obey, how can I slay my child? how forsake my comrades?' [*Str.* ε'. 217–226]. So he bowed to necessity, and undertook the impious deed, misled by Madness the source of woe, and he slew his child. [*Ant.* ε'. 228–237]. Her youth and prayers they set at nought, and like a kid they raised her to the altar, in her flowing robes, and stifled her cries. [*Str.* ϛ'. 238–246]. She bared her breast, like a picture, striking all with pity; for often she had sung to them in her father's halls. [*Ant.* ϛ'. 247–257]. The rest I cannot tell; it was accomplished. For the future—let it come; what skills foreboding? Our friendly wish is that all may be well.

While the chorus sings, the day is supposed to break; and when Klytaemnestra returns (255) *it is broad day.*]

l. 104. **κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν**, 'I am he that shall sing,' 'I am the man to tell.' **κύριος** is 'the one who has the power,' 'the right one.' *κυρία* the *right* or *appointed* day. **κράτος αἴσιον**, 'the fated victory,' slightly strained but natural sense of *κράτος*. **αἴσιος** is properly used of omens, 'auspicious,' and is here transferred from the omens (*ὅδιον*) to the victory. **ὅδιον**, 'foretold by signs upon the way;' there were various kinds of omens—entrails, the flight of birds, chance cries, and *signs on the way*, *ἐνοδίους τε συμβόλους* Pr. 487. So in Ar. Ran. 197 the slave, being unlucky, says, *τῷ συνέτυχον ἐξιών*; 'what can have met me when I came out?'

l. 105. **ἐκτελέων**. Pal. takes this as a partic.—'accomplishing,' i.e. 'singing the accomplishment.' It is less harsh to take it as gen. of adj. *ἐκτελής*, 'complete,' 'consummate,' used in strained sense for 'royal,' 'high.' H., Schn., Eng., read *ἐντελέων*; needless, because it is equally used off its meaning, and MSS. all give *ἐκτ.* **ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν . . αἰών**, a well-known difficulty, about which numerous conjectures have been made. Only four views are near enough to the MSS. to be worth mentioning; the full reading of the MSS. is: *ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνείει πειθὼ μολπὰν ἀλκὰν ξύμφυτος αἰών*. (1) Goodwin

(Amer. Phil. Ass. Trans. 1877) defends the MSS., and puts a comma at *μολπάν*: 'For still Persuasion from the gods breathes song upon me, still my old age (breathes) strength to sing.' It is very ingenious, but the antithesis (which the absence of 'and' emphasises) is harsh, 'age' and 'persuasion' being so unconnected, and the *point* surely is simply 'I am not too old to sing.' (2) Enger reads *μολπάν*, and makes *μολπᾶν ἀλκάν* an apposition to *πειθώ*: 'Still my age breathes from the gods upon me Persuasion, the strength of song.' (Old though I am, I am still inspired.) (3) H., Pal., Schn., etc., read *μολπᾶν* and *ἀλκᾷ*, though interpreting differently: 'Still age growing with strength (i.e. "not yet decrepit") breathes on me persuasion of song' (Pal.), or 'Still Persuasion of song breathes (intr.) upon me, namely the time commensurate with the war,' H., Schn., Kl. Paley's is good sense, though *ἀλκᾷ σύμφυτος* is harsh. Hermann's is very harsh and obscure and indeed impossible. (4) Heller and Campbell suggest *πειθοῖ μολπᾶν ἀλκάν*, which may be taken, 'by persuasion of song my life breathes valour.' Otherwise, 'by persuasion from heaven my age yet breathes the strength of song,' the only *ἀλκή* I have is that of song. On the whole I prefer (4): and next best (2) or (3) with Paley's interpretation.

l. 109. **ὅπως**, 'how,' takes up the first clause, *κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν*, after the parenthesis. 'The twin sovereign power, ruling with one heart,' is a characteristic Aeschylean abstract phrase for the Atreidae.

l. 110. **ξύμφρονα τάγαν**, 'ruler of one heart;' the singular is strange, and hardly defensible. See 41, 112. [It must be *τάγαν*, acc. of *τάγης*, 'a leader,' not *ταγάν*, acc. of *ταγή*, 'rule.'] It is better to read with Dindorf **ξύμφρονε ταγώ**.

l. 111. **πράκτορι**, 'avenging,' from *πράσσειν* in a special sense, 'to exact.' Eum. 624, *τὸν πατρὸς φόνον πράξαντα*. The MSS. here have *σὺν δόρι δίκας πράκτορι*, a plain gloss; fortunately the line is rightly quoted in Ar. Ran. 1288.

l. 112. 'The fierce bird' (**θούριος**, from *θυ-*, first 'smoke,' then 'violent movement or impulse') is said to 'send the kings to Troy,' because the sight of the eagles tearing the hare was the omen that encouraged them. **θούριος ὄρνις** becomes plural in the next line, but easily, by help of the adjectives.

l. 115. **ὁ κελαινὸς . . ἀργᾶς**, 'one black, one white of tail:' the black one is no doubt Agamemnon, the white-tail Menelaos (**ἀργᾶς**, alluding to *Ἄργος*, as often). Aristotle (Hist. Anim. 9. 32) aptly says, 'the largest eagle is the *White-tail* . . the strongest is that called the *Black Eagle* or *Hare-slayer*.' Perhaps Menelaos is intentionally hinted at as the less courageous.

l. 116. **χερὸς ἐκ δοριπάλτου**, i.e. 'on the right,' the lucky side for omens: the Greek augurs looking North, and the luck coming from the

East. Hence *δεξιός* gets a secondary meaning, 'favourable.' Notice **ἐκ** where we say 'on;' to the spectator the vision *comes from* right (subjective), but it *is on* the right (objective).

l. 119. **φέρματα** is Hartung's excellent emendation for *φέρματι*, the MSS. reading still retained by many. Those who retain it have to explain how **γένναν** can mean the *mother*, and how it can agree with **βλαβέντα**; a feat which they attempt. With **φέρματα** it is both easier and far more effective, 'rending the hare's young, an unborn brood, checked from their after-roamings;' **λαγίναν γένναν** will then be not the mother, but the unborn young within her. **βλαβέντα**, etc., neither hare nor young can roam any more, the eagles devour them.

l. 121. 'Echo the cry of wail; but let the good prevail.' In the refrain, fear and hope are mixed; the reason for the foreboding is not yet told; it occurs below.

l. 122. 'The good seer of the host' is of course Kalchas. *δύο λήμασι δισσούς* of the MSS. is meaningless; to say 'two differing in spirit,' as Paley takes it, is irrelevant; he is comparing 'the royal pair' to the two eagles; he calls them above *ξύμφρονε ταγώ*, 'princes one in heart;' and their *union* is the point wanted, not their *difference*. We had better therefore read **λήμασιν ἴσους** (ῑ according to the Epic scansion) with Dind., Eng.

l. 123. **ἐδάη . . ἀρχάς**, 'knew the hare-devourers and the leaders of the host,' i.e. 'knew that the hare-devourers *were* the leaders;' *ἀρχάς*, abst. for concr., like *δίθρονον κράτος*. Others take *πομποὺς ἀρχάς*, 'the powers conducting,' i.e. the *birds*, whose omen led them; a much more far-fetched meaning.

l. 126. **ἀγρεῖ**, the prophetic present, as though the seer saw it happening. **κέλευθος**, lit. 'path,' i.e. 'expedition,' 'armament.' 'One day shall this host capture the city of Priam.'

l. 127. 'And all the gathered wealth of the people before the battlements Fate shall ravage with violent hand.' So the MSS. *πρόσθε*, which can be best taken with **πύργων**, and makes good sense. Others needlessly read *πρὸς δὲ τὰ . .*, i.e. 'the wealth of the towers, and likewise the people's stores.'

l. 130. **πρὸς τὸ βίαιον**, like the commoner *πρὸς βίαν*, *πρὸς ὀργήν*, lit. 'towards' violence, wrath, etc., i.e. 'violently.' So Prom. 214, *πρὸς τὸ καρτερόν*.

l. 131. **οἶον**, 'only.' **ἄγα**, 'envy'—Hermann's certain correction for the MSS. *ἄτα*, which will not scan and makes a worse meaning. **προτυπὲν στόμιον μέγα Τροίας στρατωθέν . .** 'lower on the mighty curb of Troy (i.e. the Greek army), the embattled host, stricken before its time (i.e. before it reaches the foe).' The seer darkly foretells here the wrath of Artemis, which was to delay the host at Aulis.

l. 135. **οἴκῳ**, to say 'the pure maiden is wroth *against the house*, meaning the family of Agamemnon, is no doubt sense; but the correction *οἴκτῳ* makes infinitely better sense; 'for from pity Artemis the pure maiden is wroth with the winged hounds (eagles) of her sire.' In this way we are saved the harsh apposition **οἴκῳ .. κυσί**. Other corrections, *οἴκοι*, *οἴῳ*, need not be considered. **οἴκτῳ** is due to Scaliger.

l. 136. **πτανοῖσι κυσί**, 'the winged hounds,' i. e. the eagles. Cf. Prom. 1022, *Διὸς δέ τοι πτηνὸς κυὼν δαφοινὸς αἰετός*. The bearing of this is a little obscure, but it is of this kind: The sign of the eagles is an encouraging sign to the Greeks, boding victory; but as Artemis is offended by the eagles devouring the hare, so she is wroth with the Greeks; and her anger may do harm.

l. 137. **αὐτότοκον**, adj. used rather strangely = *αὐτοῖς τοῖς τόκοισι*, 'young and all.' So *αὐτόχθονος* 536, *αὐτόπρεμνος* Eum. 401, *αὐτόκωπος* Cho. 163. **πρὸ λόχου**, 'before the birth.'

ll. 140–145. With the ordinary readings *ἁ καλά* (140) and *αἰτεῖ* (144). This passage is taken to mean, in general sense, 'Though so gentle to all the young of beasts, the goddess asks for the accomplishment of these omens, good and evil alike.' The difficulty is, why should Artemis *ask* for the accomplishment of the cruelty which she hates (*στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον*)? Schütz suggests *τούτων, αἰτῶ, ξύμβολα κράναι*, optative, 'may she accomplish.' It is much better to read, with all the MSS. but one, **καλά** (vocative), for *ἁ καλά*, and read *αἴνει* (imper.) for *αἰτεῖ*. It then will run 'Though so kindly to the tender young of mighty lions, O fair maiden, and loving the suckling brood of all the wild wood beasts, yet *consent* to the accomplishment of the signs of these things, visions of good and ill.' This makes 140–145 addressed to Artemis, as 146–155 is to Apollo.

l. 141. I take the generally adopted **λεπτοῖς** for the meaningless MS. *ἀέπτοις*: Α and Λ being often confused. [Weckl. reads *ἀλπνοῖς*, 'sweet.']

l. 145. **στρουθῶν** is clearly corrupt, as it lengthens *α* of **φάσματα**, and as there is nothing about 'sparrows' here at all. Wecklein ingeniously conjectures *ἀνορθοῦν*: the natural prayer 'to fulfil the good and *correct the evil* omen.'

l. 146. **Παιᾶνα**, 'the healer,' well-known name of Apollo. **Ἰήϊος**, also name of Apollo; said to be from *ἰή*, and to mean 'invoked with the cry,' like *εὔιος* for Dionysos.

l. 148. **χρονίας ἐχενῇδας ἀπλοίας**, 'adverse gales, long delaying the fleet.' (*ἐχενῇς* from *ἔχω-ναῦς*, 'ship-detaining.')

l. 150. **τεύξῃ**, i.e. Artemis. Apollo is asked to prevail with his sister not to delay the host by adverse winds.

l. 151. **θυσίαν**, the 'other sacrifice, lawless, unfeasting,' is the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigeneia, which Agamemnon made to appease Artemis, as told below. The *δαίς* being the feast on the meat of the sacrifice, this offering was clearly *ἄδαιτος*.

l. 152. 'A seed of strife clinging to the race (**σύμφυτον**) fruitful of rebellion against the lord' (lit. 'not fearing the lord' of the house), the last words being a dark hint of the murder that awaits Agamemnon from the faithless Klytaemnestra.

ll. 154, 155. A characteristic instance of Aeschylus' accumulation of phrase. Here are six adjectives and one substantive. 'For wrath abides, rising again, haunting the house with guile, unforgetting, avenging the children.'

l. 157. **μόρσιμα**, a euphemism for 'evils.' 'Such fated ills, yet with great blessings, sang Kalchas from omens on the way,' etc.

l. 161. 'Zeus, whoe'er he be, if by this name it please him to be called;' **τόδε**, i. e. Zeus alone, without other more definite title.

l. 164. **οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι**, either 'I cannot conjecture,' i. e. 'refer it all to any but Zeus,' or better and simpler, 'I cannot compare any but Zeus (to Zeus),' i. e. 'Zeus is incomparably above all.'

l. 165. **εἰ τὸ μάταν .. ἐτητύμως**, 'if in good truth I must cast from me the vain load of care.' **τὸ μάταν ἄχθος** describes 'the *vague* foreboding,' 'ill-defined, shadowy care.' The sense is therefore: if I am to get rid of my vague and gloomy forebodings, I must rest on Zeus as the greatest of all. Others K., Schn., etc., take **μάταν** as *proleptic*; 'cast away my care so as to be vain,' which is not so good.

l. 170. **οὐδὲ λέξεται πρὶν ὤν**, lit. 'will not even be spoken of as having been of old,' i. e. 'his day is past, we shall not even tell of him.' The MSS. read *οὐδὲν λέξαι πρὶν ὤν* or *οὐδέν τι λέξαι* (Fa.), which will neither scan nor construe. The above correction is the slightest and the best; it is due to Ahrens, and is adopted by Eng., Schn., and later D. The allusion is to Ouranos, the father of Kronos, whom Kronos conquered and dethroned; exactly the same fate awaited Kronos himself from the hand of his own son Zeus.

l. 171. **ὃς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ**, Kronos. **τριακτῆρος**, lit. 'one who throws thrice (*τρία, τρεῖς*) in a wrestle,' the three throws being necessary for victory. So *τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων* Eum. 589, *διὰ τριῶν ἀπόλλυμαι* Eur. Or. 434.

l. 174. 'Shouts the triumph-song of Zeus.' **ἐπινίκια**, cogn. acc.

l. 175. See Appendix II.

l. 177. **τὸν πάθει μάθος .. ἔχειν**, 'who has appointed *wisdom by suffering* as a sure law,' i. e. 'that wisdom shall be learnt by suffering.' MSS. read *τῷ πάθει* by a natural error.

l. 179. **στάζει**, 'trickles,' intr., the most natural meaning. (Not as Pal. 'drops wisdom,' understanding *τὸ σωφρονεῖν* in the acc. *ἔν θ' ὕπνῳ*: the *θ'* is odd. Schömann's *ἀνθ' ὕπνου* is ingenious and probable.)

l. 180. **καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας**, 'and wisdom comes to men in their despite,' i. e. by suffering, by ways they would not choose.

l. 182. The MSS. read **δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις, βιαίως σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων**, usually construed, 'and surely 'tis a favour of the gods, seated in might upon their solemn thrones.' Only **βιαίως** cannot mean 'mightily,' it must mean 'with force or violence.' The best alteration is perhaps Turnebus' *βίαιος*, with comma after it: 'and the gods' favour is oft forced on men, the gods who sit on their glorious thrones.' In fact, it repeats line 180 in other words. But it remains doubtful.

l. 184. **ἡγεμών** has no verb; but the sense is completed 205.

l. 186. The poet returns to the narrative. The connection of this intervening religious ode with the story seems to be this: The seer warned Agamemnon of the mixed good and evil that was in store for him, and especially foreboded the evil results of the child's slaughter (154–5); but Agamemnon, in spite of all, did the deed, and incurred the curse. *Zeus is above all, and has ordained that man shall only be taught by suffering.* **καὶ τόθ'**, application of the general reflections to the special case; 'so then.'

l. 187. **ἐμπαίοις**, literally, 'striking upon,' i. e. 'his stormy lot,' prob. the same met. as *συμπνέων*, 'not breathing against,' i. e. 'yielding to.' So again, 219.

l. 189. **βαρύνοντ'**, imperf. augment omitted, as often in the choruses.

l. 190. **Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων**, 'camped on the shore that faced toward Chalkis,' i. e. at Aulis, opp. to Chalkis in Euboea. **πέραν** usu. taken as adv. and **ἔχων** intr., but it is prob. the acc. of the old word *πέρα* (which of course the adv. is originally), and means 'holding the other side.' We have the gen. (read by M. and Schol.) *πέρας* in Supp. 262 *ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτίας*.

l. 191. **παλιρρόχθοις**, 'eddying,' 'surging back.' MSS. read *παλιρρόθοις*, with same meaning; altered to suit metre, *βίαιος σελ-*, 183.

l. 192. **Στρυμόνος**. The Strymon was the great river of Thrace, which flowed out past Amphipolis. The N.E. wind would bar their passage out of the strait at Aulis. Notice the piling up of adjectives here again, as in l. 154.

l. 195. **βροτῶν ἄλαι**, in a kind of strange apposition, lit. 'wanderings of mortals,' i. e. 'drifting men away.' **βροτῶν** opp. to *νεῶν τε καὶ πεισμάτων*.

l. 196. **παλιμμήκης**, as we say, 'as long again,' 'lengthening out the time twice-told.'

l. 197. **τρίβῳ**, 'with wasting,' rarer for *τριβῇ*.

l. 199. 'Another cure of the bitter tempest,' their ordinary sacrifices having been vain for long.

l. 201. **προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν**, 'pleading (the wrath of) Artemis.'

l. 202. **χθόνα ἐπικρούσαντας**, in rage, of course. So Achilles in Homer, *ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ* Il. 1. 245.

l. 206. **κήρ**, 'fate,' old Epic word.

l. 210. This line in the MSS. does not correspond with the strophe (197): and both show rather a strange metre at the end: accordingly I adopt Hermann's *Ἄργους* and Schömann's *πρὸ βωμοῦ* for *βωμοῦ πέλας*.

l. 211. **τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ κακῶν**; i. e. 'whiche'er I choose is woe.'

l. 212. 'How can I (bear to) desert my fleet, and lose my comrades?' i. e. to have the whole expedition broken up, by not taking the only means. First the fleet scatters (*ξυμ. ἁμ.*), then the disgrace of the failure falls on Agamemnon.

l. 216. MSS. read **ὀργᾷ περιόργως ἐπιθυμεῖν**, 'to long, desiring with desire,' an almost Eastern fulness and repetition. The subject of *ἐπιθυμεῖν* is 'the comrades,' or *ξύμμαχοι*. This might do, but Schömann's correction, **περιόργῳ σφ'**, improves sense and structure.

ll. 217 sqq. 'But when he had shouldered the yoke of necessity, breathing an impious veering gale of spirit, unblest, unholy—then his heart turned to thoughts of uttermost daring.' Lit. 'he changed his purpose (*μετέγνω*) so as to devise' (*φρονεῖν*, epexeg. inf.). **τροπαίαν**, 'veering gale,' because he gave up the struggle and went straight for the wicked deed.

l. 220. Some put comma at **μετέγνω**, take **τόθεν** relative (as it is in Epic, and may easily be in Aesch.), and *ἔτλα δ' οὖν* as the principal verb. So Pal. quoting Schol. as authority: the Schol. however is so wrong about the rest of the line, that it may be wrong about *τόθεν*; and the pointing in the text is in any case clearer and better.

l. 222. Notice the piled adjectives again, 'fell distraction, base-devising, the fountain of woe.'

l. 224. **δ' οὖν**, see 34. 'Well—he had the heart to be the slayer,' as though he said, 'However it may be (with the general remarks about *παρακοπά*) *anyhow* the fact was so.'

l. 225. **ἀρωγάν** and **προτέλεια** are acc. in apposition to the *action* or the *sentence*, as often in Greek, 'to aid the war . . for the fleet an expiation.' **προτέλεια**, 'the preliminary sacrifice' (see l. 65) before the fleet could go. Observe the significant antithesis, **θυγατρὸς . . γυναικοποίνων**, 'he slew a *daughter* . . to help in vengeance for a *wife*.' The daughter is a blood-relation, the wife a stranger.

ll. 227–250. The astonishing beauty of this passage has struck all readers from that day to this; it is at once melodious, imaginative, picturesque, and overpoweringly pathetic. It suggests many touches in Lucretius' fine picture of the sacrifice, 1. 87–100.

'And her prayers, and her cries of "father," and her maiden prime they set at nought, the bloodthirsty judges . . .'

It is disputed whether **κληδόνας** means 'her appeals to the name,' or 'the name,' whether Ag. disregarded her calling him father, or his own fatherly feelings. The first is better.

l. 229. **παρ' οὐδὲν ἔθεντο.** Exactly the English 'set at nought,' literally used of estimating; reckoning in an account.

l. 230. **βραβῆs** are properly 'those who preside at a contest,' and so used here picturesquely of Agamemnon and Menelaos.

l. 231. **φράσεν**, no augment, 189.

ἀόζοις, 'the ministers,' 'the attendants.' (*ἀ-όδ-ι-ος*, 'on the road with,' 'accompanying,' like *ἀ-κόλουθ-ος*; the *ἀ-* appears in *ἄ-λοχ-ος*, 'bed-fellow,' *ἀ-δελφός*, 'born of the same womb,' etc. Curt. 598.)

l. 233. **πέπλοισι περιπετῆ**, 'with her robes flowing round her.' *πέπλοις*, dat. respect.

l. 234. **παντὶ θυμῷ προνωπῆ.** It is possible, and tempting at first sight, to take these words together, 'with all her spirit drooping;' but it is more like Greek to refer *παντὶ θυμῷ* to the *ἄοζοι*; the order of the words then marks the sharp antithesis, 'he bade the ministers unfaltering raise the drooping maid.' (So *ἅπαντι θυμῷ* Eum. 738.) They were to be eager, she was fainting with fear and grief.

l. 235. The MSS. read *φυλακάν*. We might retain this and construe **φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν**, 'to hold guard,' i.e. 'to check,' **φθόγγον** being the object accusative by a loose but not uncommon construction (like Soph. O.C. 584 *τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ .. λῆστιν ἴσχεις*, 'the time between thou forgettest'), governed by the idea *φυλάσσεσθαι* contained in *φυλακάν*, 'to keep guard over her fair lips *against* the cry.' But **φυλακᾷ** is a very slight alteration, and makes the construction quite easy; and moreover they do not want 'to guard against' (*φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν*) the cry, but 'to check' (*κατασχεῖν*); so I have taken it, following Blomf. and Eng. 'And with the curb to stifle her sweet lips' cry, fraught with curses to her house.'

l. 237. 'With violence and the muffled might of bonds;' a fine phrase for the gag. Notice **ἀναύδῳ**, epithet transferred from the bound victim to the bonds. The line hangs over into the next stanza, just as in 175; but it spoils the passage not to take it with what precedes.

l. 239. **κρόκου βαφάς**, 'her robe of saffron,' her dyed princess' robe. So Antigone unties 'the saffron splendour of her robe,' *στολίδος κροκόεσσαν τρυφάν* Eur. Phoen. 1491. Stanley and Schn. understand it of blood!! Observe the unusual hiatus **χέουσα .. ἔβαλλε**: perhaps the text is wrong.

l. 241. 'Plain as in a picture, fain to speak.' We are often reminded in the Greek tragedians of the works of painting and sculpture which enriched Athens. So in this play, 416, 801, 1329; and Eum. 50 *εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας δεῖπνον φερούσας*, Eur. Hec. 564 *στέρνα θ' ὡς

ἀγάλματος κάλλιστα, ib.* 807 *ὡς γραφεὺς ἀποσταθεὶς ἰδοῦ με*, Ar. Ran. 537 *γεγραμμένην εἰκόν' ἑστάναι*. So Eur. Hipp. 1009, Troad. 682. About fifty years after this play was acted a celebrated painter at Sikyon, named Timanthes, painted this very scene, and Agamemnon standing by with his face veiled (Pliny, 35. 10). In the museum at Naples there is a fresco of this subject, taken from 'the house of the Tragic Poet.'

l. 244. **ἁγνᾷ** (Triclin.'s obvious correction for the awkward *ἁγνά* of MSS.) **ἀταύρωτος αὐδᾷ**, 'with virginal voice the spotless maiden.' Paley well suggests that the emphasis of this beautiful phrase is intentional; the banquet songs of later days were sung by very different people from the pure and lovely princess.

l. 245. Read **εὔποτμον παιᾶνα** with Hartung (Eng., K., Dav., and Pal.) for MSS. *εὔποτμον αἰῶνα*, which will not scan and makes bad sense, 'lovingly graced her loving father's chant of happy fortune, sung at the third libation.' The third libation was poured to Ζεὺς *Σωτήρ*, and then the *συμπόσιον* or drinking-bout began, the *δεῖπνον* being ended. With the end of the libations came the *παιάν*, or song. So in Plato's Symposium [*ἔφη*] *δειπνήσαντας σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ᾄσαντας τὸν θεόν*, which last phrase clearly refers to the paean. See 1386.

l. 247. The sacrifice itself could not be more impressively told than by this terrible hint. 'The rest I saw not neither speak; but Kalchas' word (lit. 'arts') is not unfulfilled.' Others (Eng., Schn.) refer **τὰ δ' ἔνθεν** not to the slaughter, but to *all that is to come of it*. No doubt in 250 the Chorus are thinking of the ill to follow; but that is led up to by the thought 'Kalchas' word is not unfulfilled,' meaning first his advice to slay Iphigeneia, then (suggested by that) his prophecy of the *φοβερὰ μῆνις* (154). It is far more poetical and effective to take *τὰ δ' ἔνθεν* as euphemism for the bloody deed.

ll. 250–254. This passage is well known for its corruptness and difficulty. The true reading is, however, probably preserved in Fa., which reads:—

δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν μαθεῖν
ἐπιρρέπει. τὸ μέλλον
ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις, προχαιρέτω.

The others (M., Fl., G.) read, *ἐπιρρέπει τὸ μέλλον· τὸ δὲ προκλύειν ἐπεί, κ.τ.λ.*, which is impossible to equate with the strophe, and nearly impossible to construe. Goodwin (Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass. 1877) has however pointed out the important fact that in M. not only *τὸ δὲ προκλύειν* but also *the colon after μέλλον* is by a later hand; so that the original reading of M. (much the oldest) confirms Fa. We only require *δέ* after *τὸ μέλλον* to make both sense and metre. The meaning will then be: 'To them that suffer, justice brings wisdom. What is to

be, thou canst hear when it has come (**κλύοις ἄν** principal verb, **ἐπεὶ γένοιτο** optative indefinite, assimilated in mood to *κλύοις* as grammar requires): ere that, have none of it (*πρὸ χαιρέτω*, lit. 'before hand, farewell to it'); 'tis but too early sorrow.' I.e. 'hear it after the event; have nothing to do with it (hearing it) before the time; hearing before the time means lamenting before the time.' So that the subject to *ἴσον* (*ἐστί*) is *τὸ προ-κλύειν*, *exactly what some intelligent reader wrote on the side*, and which has crept into the text. Ahrens is certainly right in reading *πρὸ χαιρέτω* in two words; the meaning is clearer, and it would be more likely to lead to the gloss which has caused all the difficulty. *πρό* is then adverbial, in the Epic fashion.

l. 254. *τορὸν γὰρ ἥξει σύνορθον αὐταῖς* is the reading of M. and Ven. retained by Goodwin, who explains, 'for clear it will come out, in accord with them' (the *τέχναι Κάλχαντος*). But *αὐταῖς* is a very weak word, and very far from *τέχναι*; and the emendation *σύνορθρον* (Wellauer) *αὐγαῖς* (Herm.), 'clear it will come with the rays of the dawn,' is very near the MSS., and gives a fine sense, and is generally adopted.

l. 255. **δ' οὖν**, 34.

MSS. give **εὔπραξις**, verbal from *εὖ πράσσειν*: some prefer to write it in two words according to the ordinary rules, but there is doubt whether it will not stand. [I have now adopted *εὖ πρᾶξις*.]

τἀπὶ τούτοισι, 'as to what comes after.'

l. 256. 'This one sole defence of the Apian land, bound by close ties.' These words may mean either 'ourselves,' or 'Klytaemnestra,' who just then enters. The former is perhaps the more natural thing to say; but **ἄγχιστον** and **μονόφρουρον** look like the latter, and in that case *μονόφρουρον*, 'sole-guarding,' is (as Schn. remarks) full of irony to the spectators who know of her faithlessness.

'Απίας, old name for Peloponnese; it is derived from **ΑΠ-**, Lat. *aqu-*, 'water,' and means 'the water-girt land.' Cp. **Μεσσαπία**, 'between the waters.'

[ll. 258–354. Scene I. *Klytaemnestra now comes out of the central door, and the leader of the Chorus turns to the stage and addresses her.* He asks the news, and is told of the capture of Troy, the tidings have come by beacon, the stages of which are then described; Klyt. imagines the scene in Troy, and expresses a hope that it will end well.]

l. 261. 'But whether thou hast heard good news, or naught heard but hast hope of good, that thus thou art busy with sacrifice,' in this sense the **εὐαγγέλοισιν ἐλπίσιν** only belongs to the second alternative, to the **μὴ πεπυσμένη**. Mr. Morshead turns it well, 'Now be it sure and certain news of good, or the fair tidings of a flattering hope, that bids thee spread the light,' etc.

εἴ τι κεδνόν, an old conjecture for MSS. *εἴτε κεδνόν*, and a necessary alteration.

l. 263. **εὔφρων**, 'glad,' i.e. 'gladly.' Others take it, 'being well disposed,' a clumsier sentence.

οὐδὲ σιγώσῃ φθόνος. 'Nor shall I grudge thy silence,' i.e. if thou keep silence.

l. 264. 'With happy tidings—so the proverb runs—may the dawn spring forth from her mother night.' The whole couplet is the **παροιμία**, with its simple and strong imagery; the use of **εὐφρόνη**, with the slight play on the double meaning, is of course appropriate to the proverb. The 'good-hearted' night would naturally bring forth a 'dawn of good news.'

l. 271. **εὖ φρονοῦντος** is predicative. 'Ay, for thine eyes show forth thy heart as loyal.'

l. 272. This line is best read as two questions, with Pal., Ken. If it is read as one question, the answer is not to the point.

l. 274. **εὐπιθῆ**, 'persuasive.' (The form *εὐπειθής* is found in M. Eum. 829, Suppl. 623, Pr. 349 (the last impossible): *εὐπιθής* Ag. 982.)

l. 275. **οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάβοιμι**, 'I would not accept (i.e. 'believe') the fancy.'

l. 276. 'What? has some wingless rumour puffed thee up?'

ἀλλ' ἦ, of surprised or excited inquiry usually (Phil. 414; El. 879; Hipp. 932); here the surprise is scornful. 'Art thou so foolish?'

πιαίνω, prop. 'to fatten,' one of Aeschylus' bold metaphors.

ἄπτερος φάτις is difficult. The only plausible interpetation (Pal., K.), 'rumour sped by no bird,' i.e. spontaneously arising, is a little far-fetched. Perhaps, in view of the common Homeric *ἔπεα πτερόεντα*, and the strange phrase, *τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος* Od. 17. 57, which probably means, 'and her word was unwinged,' i.e. unspoken (Faesi), we may construe here, 'an unspoken rumour,' i.e. as K., 'a strange presentiment.' [H. and others say 'wingless,' i.e. 'unfledged,' 'immature.' Obscure.]

l. 278. **ποίου χρόνου**, comprehensive gen., like *νυκτός*, *ὑπάγεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ*, *θέων πεδίοιο*, etc., 'within what time?'

καί emphasises the verb, '. . . *has* the city been sacked?'

l. 279. **νῦν**, 'but now.' See note on 104.

εὐφρόνης, the *case* is kept to answer to *χρόνου*.

l. 280. **καὶ τίς**, incredulous, just as in English, '*and what* messenger could come so quick?' (So, e.g. Soph. O. C. 73, 606, 1173.)

τάχος, adverbial acc., a kind of quasi-cognate or internal acc.

l. 282. 'Beacon sped beacon on with courier-flame.' **ἄγγαρος**, a Persian word; the system is fully described by Herodotus, 8. 98, in his inimitable style. 'Now no mortal thing arrives quicker than these messengers; such is the system the Persians have invented. A number of men and horses are posted at intervals, equal to the number of days

required for the despatch, each man and horse being a day's journey from the next. These neither snow nor rain, nor heat nor night, stops from accomplishing their appointed stage at full speed. The first gives the despatch to the second, and the second to the third, and so forth. This they call ἀγγαρήϊον.' [The MSS. read ἀγγέλου, but the line is quoted with ἀγγάρου in various old gramm.]

The stations for the beacons are: Ida in the Troad; Mt. Hermaios in Lemnos; Mt. Athos, S. E. promontory of Chalkidike; Mt. Makistos in S. Euboea; Mt. Messapios and Kithairon, in Boeotia; Mt. Aigiplanktos in the Megarid; Mt. Arachnaios in Argolis.

ll. 286–289. This passage is a well-known crux. The words, as they stand, mean: 'And soaring so as to overpass the sea the might of the marching torch all joyfully —— the golden gleam like some sun, to the heights of Makistos passing the tidings on;' where the dash (—) stands in the place of πευκή. It is highly probable that **πευκή**, a gloss upon ἰσχὺς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος, has ousted the verb from its place; if some word like 'sent' be put into the blank, the sense is complete. Eng. reads **πέμπει**, which may be right. Kock's **ἐπέσυτο** for πεύκη τό is ingenious, as τό is needless: or perhaps ἐπᾶλτο. All the MSS. agree in reading **σκοπάς**; the acc. may be right if the lost verb was a transitive verb of motion, 'sent the golden gleam *to* the heights . . .:' but on the whole, especially considering the position of παραγγείλασα, the dative is more likely.

The alternative is to keep πευκή, read ἰσχύν, and suppose that πρὸς ἡδονὴν is a corruption of the verb: either προήνυσεν, Camp. or προσήνυσεν, Elmsl., Hart.

πορευτοῦ, not from πορευτός (which has three terminations), but probably from πορευτής, 'traveller;' agreement, like σωτὴρ τύχη, Soph. O. T. 80; Ag. 664. So also θέλκτωρ πειθώ, Suppl. 1040, καρανιστῆρες δίκαι, Eum. 186. **πρὸς ἡδονὴν** might be taken of the joy in those who saw it; but if so, there would have been a dative of the person. It is quite good of the fire. **παραγγέλλω** has a special fitness; its proper use is military, 'to pass the word down the line.' So 294, 316.

l. 291. **παρῆκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος**, 'neglected not the herald's part,' the negatives going on from οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ', κ.τ.λ. This is the common way of taking it, and it is quite possible; but I rather incline to prefer Paley's, 'passed on his share of the message.' Not that ἄγγελος means 'message;' it means 'messenger,' and the phrase literally is 'his messenger's share,' quite a possible expression.

l. 292. Euripos, the narrow strait between Euboea and Boeotia.

l. 297. **Ἀσωποῦ**, the river of Boeotia, north of Plataeae.

l. 299. 'Awoke a new relay of missive flame.' *Ken.*

l. 300. **οὐκ ἠναίνετο**, 'did not disown,' poetic understatement, he means 'welcomed,' 'recognised and attended to.'

l. 301. **φρουρά**, 'the guard,' who were on the look-out on Kithairon.

πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων, 'lighting a fiercer fire than those I have told of,' seems a very flat line, though the MSS. are agreed upon it. But one cannot help being strongly tempted (with D., Schn.) to believe that a half line, found in Hesychius (Alexandrine lexicographer and grammarian, 4th century A.D., who has preserved many scraps of the ancient writers), προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα, belongs to this place. The line means, 'raising to the skies the missive flame;' a thoroughly Aeschylean expression, exactly suiting the place, and clearly describing a beacon. The words in the text may then have been a dull gloss on προσαιθρίζουσα; and though they appear in all the MSS., I have ventured to make the change.

l. 302. **λίμνη Γοργῶπις**, a little inlet in the N.E. corner of the Corinthian gulf.

l. 304. μὴ χαρίζεσθαι is the MSS. reading, which makes no sense. Various conjectures have been made, μηχαρίζεσθαι (a word which does not exist), 'to devise,' (?) Well., K. μὴ χρονίζεσθαι, 'not to linger,' Pal., μὴ χατίζεσθαι, 'not to fail,' lit. 'not to be missed,' Heath, H., D., Eng., Schn. The last seems the best. 'Urged on the fiery ordinance not to fail,' a fine phrase; but χατίζεσθαι is rather strange; and I have adopted (Marg.'s) **μηχανήσασθαι**, 'to devise,' 'arrange.'

l. 305. **ἀν-δαίω**. Epic syncope of ἀνά, like the Homeric **ἂμ φυτά**, ἀγκαλέω, ἀγξηραίνω, ἀλλέξαι, etc. So ἐπαντείλασαν 27; cf. 1021, 1599.

l. 306. 'A mighty beard of fire,' a bold and picturesque image for a blaze streaming in the wind.

καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ, etc. 'Even to overpass the headland that looks down on the Saronic gulf.' **κάτοπτον** (for the meaningless MSS. κάτοπτρον), adj., the κατά governing gen. The 'headland' is evidently Mount Geraneia.

ll. 306–8. Probably corrupt, the MSS. reading in 308 εἶτ' ἔσκηψεν εἶτ' ἀφίκετο, which is certainly wrong; and φλέγουσαν after φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα is at least suspicious. The best way in such a case is to make the least needful alteration, which is done by correcting one or both of the εἶτας: either εἶτα .. ἔστε, (D.); εἶτ'.. εὖτ', (Pal.); or ἔστ'.. εὖτ', (H., Eng., Schn.), which is perhaps on the whole the best, and has been adopted. The sense will then run, 'Then kindling with unstinted might they send a mighty beard of flame, even to surmount the headland overlooking the Saronic bay, blazing onward, till it alighted, when it reached the Arachnaian steep, our city's neighbouring beacon height.' **ὑπερβάλλειν** will be epexegetic inf. quite natural after πέμπουσι. **φλέγουσαν** will be κατὰ σύνεσιν (constructed according to *sense*, not *grammar*) with φλογὸς πώγωνα, fem. because the *thought* is 'bearded flame,' and *flame* is fem.

l. 311. **οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός**, 'true scion of Idaian fire.' *Sw.* The gen. is common after these neg. adjectives; it is a gen. of reference,

combined perhaps with the gen. of *emptiness*. So Soph. *ἀψόφητος κωκυμάτων* Aj. 321, *ἄσκευον ἀσπίδων* El. 36, *ἡμερῶν ἀνήριθμον* Tr. 247, etc.; and Ag. 649 *ἀμήνιτον θεῶν*.

l. 312. **τοιοίδε τοί μοι**, 'such I ween;' *μοι*, Ethical dative. Others divide not so well, *τοιοίδ' ἕτοιμοι*, 'such means of communication the queen has at her disposal,' says Pal., not very poetically.

ll. 312–314. This has some difficulties. 'Such the ordinances of our torch-racers one from another by succession accomplished,' i.e. Klyt. compares the series of beacons to the torch-race or *λαμπαδηφορία* at Athens. What this was is not quite clear, but apparently there was a *number* or *chain* of runners engaged, each of whom carried the torch a certain distance and then handed it on to the next. The torch had to be brought in alight. The competition was probably between rival chains of runners. The only point of resemblance here is the *quick succession* and the *fire*, and it is curious that Herodotus, in the passage quoted above (282) on *ἄγγαρος*, compares the Persian courier system (which Aesch. likens to the beacons) to this very *λαμπαδηφορία*, in respect of the succession of carriers. The next line is variously taken:—(1) 'And first and last alike they win the race,' (Eng., Schn., Klaus., etc.), i.e. just as the victory in the torch-race belongs to all the *chain*, so here the triumph is won by first and last alike. The omission of the article (*χὠ τελευταῖος*) is not surprising in the looser style of Aeschylus; so 324 we have *καὶ τῶν ἁλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων*. Perhaps we should rather have expected some word for 'equally,' 'alike.' (2) 'And the first wins, last also in the race' (Peile), i.e. and the victory is with the one who *arrived* first, having been lighted last. The victory, because it brought the news; the resemblance to the torch-race being dropped. (3) 'And he who ran first and last wins,' the same sense as (2) but grammatically different, or (4) '*though* he ran last,' Ken. *καί* for *καίπερ*. It is impossible to decide confidently; but (1) is rather simpler and better than the others.

l. 317. **αὖθις**, 'later.'

l. 319. **ὡς λέγοις πάλιν**, the optative is given by two out of the three MSS. here (Fl., Fa.), and is probably right. It is the *assimilated* optative, not uncommon in the dependent clause where the principal verb is opt.; it is due to the feeling of the principal verb *being continued* on into the dependent. 'I would fain hear at length . . according as thou wouldst tell it again.' So Plat. Men. 92 C *πῶς ἂν εἰδείης περὶ τούτου οὗ ἄπειρος εἴης*; Soph. O. C. 560 *δεινὴν . . ἂν πρᾶξιν τύχοις λέξας ὁποίας ἐξαφισταίμην ἐγώ*; Plat. Phaed. 65 *ἐκεῖνος ἂν ποιήσειε . . ὅστις ἴοι*.

ὡς λέγεις, 'as thou dost tell it,' the reading of B., is easy enough, but not quite such good sense. He wants more details, not a repetition of the story as told.

l. 321. **ἄμικτον**, 'discordant,' not blending; as her simile shortly makes clear.

l. 323. **φίλως** (the MSS. reading) is much better than *φίλω*, a common correction. 'Unfriendly sundered wouldst thou call them.'

l. 324. **καί** answers to *τ'* after *ὄξος*. We should say, 'as . . so . .'

δίχα, 'apart,' i.e. 'distinct' from each other.

l. 326. **οἱ μέν**, 'the captives,' largely women, as we see from *ἀνδρῶν*, etc.

l. 327. **φυταλμίων γερόντων**, 'fostering sires.' There is no need to alter this to *φυτάλμιοι παίδων γέροντες* with Weil., Eng.; 'the old men' need not have been too old to fight.

l. 330. **ἐκ μάχης**, 'after,' so *τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος, ἐξ εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν*, etc.

νυκτίπλαγκτος, etc., 'night-roaming toil sets them hungry down to such fare as the city has;' the meaning is clear, but the expression is fanciful and picturesque, after his manner.

l. 332. 'According to no token in order due,' a grim kind of irony; the banquet in the sacked town was no well-ordered festival, where each received his *token* and took his appointed seat (**ἐν μέρει**); but just as it chanced (333) he took what he got (331).

l. 333. This line goes better with what precedes, so with Eng., K., Dav., I put a stop after it; and read **ἐν δ'** next line, as Eng.

l. 336. MSS. *ὡς δυσδαίμονες*, unconnected and nonsense. **ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες** (Stanl., Eng., Schn., K.) is the best alteration. 'And like happy men shall sleep all night without watch to keep' (*ὡς δὲ δαίμονες* is too strong a phrase for merely getting a good night's rest).

l. 340. A good example of *certain* emendation: the MSS. read *ἄν γ' ἑλόντες* or *ἀνελόντες*, and *αὖ θάνοιεν* or *ἂν θάνοιεν*.

l. 341. **μὴ ἐμπίπτῃ**. The subjunctive expresses a misgiving, 'only beware lest,' common in Homer: *ὤ μοι ἐγώ, μή τίς μοι ὑφαίνῃσιν δόλον αὖτε* Od. 5. 356, also in Attic *μὴ ἀγροικότερον ᾖ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν* Plat. Gorg. 462 E.

l. 342. This caution 'not to sack holy things' they neglected; cp. 527 *βωμοὶ δ' ἄϊστοι*, etc.

l. 344. **δίαυλος**, 'the double course,' where the runners went round a post and back to the start; a good metaphor for the double voyage.

ll. 345–7. The meaning of these lines is simpler than has been supposed. Taking the MSS. reading **ἀναμπλάκητος**, which Goodwin has shown (Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. 1877) to be read in Fl. as well as the others, we shall construe: 'but if the army returned without such offence to the gods, the woe of the dead might yet wake, if sudden ills did not befall.' The second 'if' is a repetition of the first in other words; the whole drift is, 'let no impious desires assail the army; (that might bring judgment and peril on them, for) they have to return home;

but if they kept free of such offence, (and accordingly) if no such sudden judgment befell, there still might wake the woe of the dead,' which makes good sense, and there is no reason to read ἐναμπλάκητος. The last words contain a *double entendre*; to the chorus they mean, 'the army might suffer for *Trojans* slain, if they escaped storm (649) or other judgment;' but the hidden meaning is, '*Agamemnon*, if he escaped shipwreck, might pay the penalty for Iphigeneia,' as he does.

l. 349. **τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη.** She takes up the refrain of the chorus (121, 139), and seems still more sanguine: for instead of *αἴλινον*, 'the mixed woe and joy,' she wishes 'no doubtful good.' But again there is the grim second meaning, 'let us have complete triumph' over Agamemnon.

l. 350. **πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τήνδ' ὄνησιν εἱλόμην,** 'for this have I chosen, as the enjoyment of many blessings,' i.e. counting it as equal to the enjoyment of many other blessings: namely, 'that all should return safe;' or, as she really means, 'that I should have my revenge.' *τήνδε* is attracted to *ὄνησιν* as usual. The MSS. read *τήν*, and Hermann corrected it.

l. 354. 'For joy is wrought not unworthy of our toils' is the best meaning: both **χάρις** and **ἄτιμος** being used in slightly strained senses: cp. 1443 *ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην*, 'they have fared *as they deserve*.'

[ll. 355-487. STASIMON I.

Klytaemnestra goes in, and the chorus sing the first stasimon.

The general sense is:—

'Zeus it is who has cast the inevitable net on Troy; the late but sure vengeance on Paris.' (Introductory anapaests 355-366.)

Str. α'. (367-384). ''Tis the stroke of Zeus; the impious deny the interference of the gods, but it has been shown here in punishing the proud and over-wealthy. Moderate wealth is better; riches cannot protect the unjust.

Ant. α'. (385-401). 'The wicked man is lured to his ruin by Delusion; and then his true black heart appears; the wicked pursues vanity, like a child a bird; his prayers are vain. Such was Paris.

Str. β'. (402-419). 'The Faithless one left her home, leaving War to her kin, bringing Ruin to Troy. The seers sang Woe! Woe! the scorned lord is silent and stricken; in dreams he sees the lost one; his joy is departed.

Ant. β'. (420-435). 'Sorrowful visions haunt him, fleeting and mocking; the people are filled with mourning for those who go forth, but naught returns save ashes in the urn.

Str. γ'. (436-455). 'War the cruel arbiter sends back from Ilion dust for men; the people praise the dead and curse their rulers; the conquerors hold their graves only.

Ant. γ'. (456-474). 'Grievous the wrath of the city; I forbode some

evil. The gods forget not, the unjust are laid low, and none can aid. 'Tis best to be neither cruel conqueror nor wretched captive.

Epod. (475-487). 'The beacons glad tidings spread; but who knows whether it is true, or a delusion? Women are too credulous; their joyful news turns out often short-lived joy.']

l. 356. **κτεάτειρα** (Epic form, fem. of *κτε-ατήρ*, from *κτά-ομαι*), 'winner.'

l. 357. **ἐπὶ πύργοις,** Epic use of dat. after verb of motion, cp. *βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίῃ* for *γαῖαν* (Il. 22. 64), *νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα* for *νῆας* Il. 22. 392. See 60.

l. 358. **στεγανόν,** 'close drawn,' from *στέγω*, 'to cover,' and is used often of that which *keeps out* (like *hair* which keeps off wet, armour against arrows, shed against rain, etc.) or, as here, *keeps in*.

ὡς for *ὥστε*. Epic usage common in poets.

l. 359. **μήτ' οὖν:** *οὖν* is used in *second* half of alternatives often: *εἴτε .. εἴτ' οὖν* Soph. Phil. 345, *οὔτε .. οὔτ' οὖν* O. T. 90, *μήτε .. μήτ' οὖν .. ib.* 271. **ὑπερτελέσαι,** 'to overleap,' cp. *ὑπερτελής*. 286.

l. 360. 'The mighty snare of slavery, destruction sweeping all away,' the capture bringing ruin on all. Eng. supposes **μέγα δουλείας** a gloss, as it wants a vaguer word to include *death* as well as *slavery*, which **ἄτη παναλωτος** does. But the poet is here thinking of the *capture* chiefly, the sack, and the slavery, and the misery.

l. 362. **αἰδοῦμαι,** 'venerate,' more choice and forcible word for 'pray.'

l. 363. **ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ,** 'against Paris;' for dative compare 357.

l. 364. 'That so neither before the time nor beyond the stars the bolt might vainly fall,' i.e. that the vengeance might duly fall, and at the due time, and with due effect. **πρὸ καιροῦ** is usually taken 'short of the mark,' which makes a good antithesis with *ὑπὲρ ἄστρων*; but though *καιρός* might perhaps be used in this sense (see 786), still the point of the sentence is the long delay of justice, till the *time should be ripe*. Moreover, 'at the proper time and proper place,' is just as good an antithesis as 'neither too short nor too far.' See note on 786.

l. 365. **ὑπὲρ ἄστρων** (perhaps proverbial expression, as Schn.), an obvious hyperbole for 'too far,' 'shot into the sky.'

Observe **ὅπως ἄν** with final opt. **σκήψειεν,** a Homeric usage not allowed in Attic final sentences. Od. 8. 21 *ὥς κεν Φαιήκεσσι γένοιτο*, 24. 334 *ὄφρ' ἂν ἑλοίμην δῶρα*. In Attic the *ἄν* would be dispensed with. That the sentence is final is clear both from the sense and from the *μή*.

l. 367. Lit. 'they have the blow of Zeus to tell of,' i.e. ''tis the stroke of Zeus, they know it.'

l. 368. **πάρεστιν** not *πάρεστι* (Hart.); then the line is in metre like 367, and in antistrophe 386 we can read *προβούλου*, which makes better sense.

l. 369. **ἔπραξαν** (Herm.) **ὡς ἔκρανεν** is best reading. 'They suffered as he willed.' The MSS. have the plainly false *ὡς ἔπραξεν ὡς ἔκρανεν*.

l. 370. **ἀξιοῦσθαι**, 'deign' (rarely Med., but quite good Greek). **μέλειν**, personal and active, 'to care for' = *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*. This is rare, but is found: *μέλειν ἡμῶν* Soph. Aj. 689, *τῆς τικτούσης μέλειν* El. 342, *τῶν ἀδίκων μέλουσι* Eur. H. F. 773.

l. 371. **ὅσοις**, dat. agent, not uncommon after perf. and aor. passive, rarer with pres., 'by whomsoe'er the glory of their holy things was trampled down.'

l. 372. **πατοῖθ'**, opt. indef. It is past, because of *ἔφα*.

ll. 374–376. The MSS. give *πέφανται δ' ἐγγόνους ἀτολμήτων Ἄρη πνεόντων μείζον' ἢ δικαίως*, which is not a sentence at all, and has no construction. We can see that the poet said, 'it has been shown,' and then something about 'too proud warriors;' from which the drift can be inferred 'that the proud at last fall.' The ordinary correction *ἐκγόνοις ἀτολμήτως*, 'it has been shown (that gods do care) to the offspring of those who breathe out war insufferably' is very unlikely; the subject of **πέφανται** is wanting, and *ἀτολμήτως* does not really mean 'insufferably,' but 'in a manner not be ventured.' On the whole I much prefer Hartung's *ἐκτίνουσα τόλμᾱ τῶν Ἄρη*, etc., quite as near the MSS., and much better sense; also the article *τῶν* is happy. 'We have seen it paying penalty, the wickedness (*τόλμα*, 'criminal daring') of those who breathed out war more fiercely (*μεῖζον*) than was just,' i. e. Paris and the Trojans have suffered vengeance. Observe *τόλμα* with *α* long; this is the Doric quantity, and is common in Pindar.

l. 377. **φλεόντων**, 'overflows,' with riches.

l. 378. **ἔστω**, 'let there be what brings no woe, yet suffices for him whose heart is wise' (lit. 'so that he who is well gifted in respect of mind should be content'). The meaning is, 'a humble competence, sufficient, but not entailing trouble, is best.' This is the best sense that can be got out of a difficult and rather doubtful passage.

l. 379. **ἀπαρκεῖν** is used personally, 'I am content,' instead of the ordinary impersonal *ἀρκεῖ*, 'it suffices;' just as *δίκαιός εἰμι*, *ἄξιός εἰμι*, etc. (*τοσοῦτον ἀρκῶ σοι* Prom. 621 is something like it). Schütz's conj. *λαχόντι* would make an easier constr., but is not necessary.

l. 380. **πραπίδων**, gen. of reference after *εὖ*; cf. *ὡς εἶχε ποδῶν*, etc.

l. 381. 'For there is no defence in wealth to a man who insolently spurns the great altar of Justice out of sight.' **πρὸς κόρον**, like *πρὸς βίαν*, *πρὸς ὀργήν*, etc., adverbially. (Others, as Eng., Schn., H., take **εἰς ἀφάνειαν** with **ἔπαλξις**, 'protection against destruction;' but it is too far off; and *ἀφάνεια* is not a good word; and *εἰς* is the wrong preposition. Pal. formerly so took it, but now takes it as above.)

l. 385. **βιᾶται**, 'forces him on.' The sense is, 'the wicked man is

led on by Temptation (*πειθώ*), which is sent him by the Ruin or Curse he has roused, which plots his destruction.'

l. 386. Read with Hartung **προβούλου παῖς ἄφ. ἄτ.**, 'the fatal child of scheming Ruin,' instead of the MSS. *προβουλόπαις*, a very unlikely compound in that sense; it would mean 'with scheming children,' and would in any case be adj. D. quotes *αἰνοπάτηρ* Cho. 315; but that *is* adj., and so is no parallel. [Others, as Karst., Dav., K., read *πρόβουλος*, which is ingenious and simple, but hardly so effective.]

l. 387. 'The evil is not hidden; but shines, a baleful glare.' The evil being his wickedness. The sentence is a little harsh, and perhaps there is some corruption.

l. 391. 'By rubbing and by blows' of the touchstone to try the metal; he is found 'black smutched' like bad copper (instead of being bright like gold) when tested, **δικαιωθείς**, a bold use of the word.

l. 394. I.e. '*he is as* a boy chasing a winged bird.' Paris, in his vain expectation of success in his crime, is like a boy chasing a bird, a proverb for vanity. The omission of 'as' is both Lat. and Greek usage in comparisons.

l. 395. **προστρίμμα**, not 'brand' (L. S.), but 'an infliction,' 'a woe;' we have *προστρίβειν* used with *ζημία* Prom. 329, *πληγάς* Ar. Eq. 5, *συμφοράν* Dem. 786. 6.

l. 397. **τῶν**, demonstrative, 'these things;' an Epic usage. This correction of MSS. *τῶνδε* is Klausen's, to suit *ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν* in 379, which is better rhythm.

ἐπίστροφον, 'conversant with,' a Homeric word: *ἐπίστροφος ἦν ἀνθρώπων* Od. 1. 177.

l. 398. **καθαιρεῖ**, sc. *ὁ θεός*, easily understood from *οὔτις θεῶν*. Cf. the well-known passage in Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 1, 'Qui fit Maecenas ut nemo . . contentus vivat, *laudet* diversa sequentes?' i. e. omnes laudent.

l. 405. 'The din of shield and spear and naval armaments.' MSS. read *κλόνους λογχίμους τε καί*, etc.; bad position of *τε*, and not suitable to *πάρεισι δόξαι* of antistr. 421. Read with Ahrens **τε καὶ κλόνους . . ναυβάτας θ'**.

l. 406. **ἀντίφερνον**, 'in place of dowry;' Aesch. is fond of these strange compounds, where the *ἀντί governs* (so to speak) the subst. with which it is compounded, *ἀντήνωρ* 443, *ἀντίπαις* Eum. 38, *ἀντίδουλος* Cho. 135, *ἀντίκεντρον* Eum. 131.

l. 409. 'The seers of the house,' taken by some of Greek seers wailing, by others of the Trojan seers warning. It reads more like the former; but perhaps refers to a story in the *Κύπρια* of the prophecies of Helenos and Kassandra about Paris' marriage.

l. 411. **στίβοι φιλάνορες**, lit. 'husband-loving tracks,' i. e. 'print of her loving form,' 'loving' as she was once; *φιλάνωρ* so used 856.

l. 412. The MSS. reading is hopeless. I have taken Hermann's **σιγὰς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους** which is the least violent; it also leaves the metre its cretic character; **ἰδεῖν πάρεστι** then go together. 'Behold the silence, scorned yet unrebuking,' a very fine picture of Menelaos' misery. For the next words I take **ἄλγιστ' ἀφημένων**, 'of those who sit apart in sorrow.' For plur. **σιγάς** cf. 419.

l. 416. 'And the loveliness of fair-limbed statues becomes to him a loathing; he has lost the light of her eyes and all love is departed.' Besides the astonishing beauty of the mere words, there is almost a modern depth and tenderness in the thought. Some have strangely referred **ὀμμάτων ἀχηνίαις** to the 'blank eyes' of the statues; others take it 'in the loss of his eyes,' i.e. loss sustained by his eyes (subject. gen.); but this does not seem so good.

l. 423. **ὁρᾷ** (Scholefield) is probably right; it might easily have got corrupted after **δοκῶν** into inf., especially as the sense is, 'for vainly, when one sees in fancy delights, the vision is gone,' etc. Literally, 'when a man sees fancying he sees delights,' *ὁρᾶν* being easily supplied in thought from *ὁρᾷ*.

l. 426. 'On wings following the ways of sleep.' Another wonderful line.

l. 428. There is no need for Hermann's *τὰ δ' ἐστί*, which would rather require *τὸ πᾶν γάρ* in the next line. 'The woes in the house, in the hearth, are these, and yet more bitter than these; but for all who sailed,' etc. (Lit. 'on the whole, for those who sailed.') **Ἕλλανος**, as adj. with a fem. word, occurs again 1254.

l. 430. **τλησικάρδιος**, 'suffering,' by a bold transference applied, not to the afflicted man, but to the affliction. (Perhaps *τηξικάρδιος* Aur.)

l. 435. Notice the beautiful effect in this pathetic line of the implied antithesis to **οἶδεν**; instead of the familiar and loved face comes back the *unknown* urn and ashes.

l. 436. The 'dust in the urn' suggests a bold figure to the poet. 'War is a gold-merchant dealing in bodies; he has his balance (holding the scales of fight, a Homeric idea from Il. 8. 69, where Zeus weighs fates); he sends back *βραχὺ ψῆγμα*, 'a little dust sore-lamented'; and 'he fills the jar with ashes in place of men.'

l. 441. The MSS. read *βαρύ*, explained as a *double entendre*, 'heavy' and 'sad': but 'a little dust' is simpler and more pathetic. See Soph. El. 1142.

l. 444. **εὐθέτους**, for MSS. *εὐθέτου*; it is a more natural phrase, and better applied to *λέβης*. It means 'well-ordered,' and is used by Aesch. of *σάκος*, and *ἀρβύλαι* elsewhere. If we keep *εὐθέτου*, it must mean 'easily stored,' and there is no trace of such a usage. Moreover, the order of the words favours the change.

l. 448. **διαί**, Epic form, restored by Herm. for sake of metre.

βαΰζει, properly, 'barks;' so, 'mutters,' 'grumbles.'

l. 450. **ὑπ' .. ἕρπει** (Epic tmesis for *ὑφέρπει*), 'steals over' the citizens. **Ἀτρείδαις** is dat. after *φθονερόν*.

πρόδικος seems to mean properly an 'advocate;' 'champion' will do here.

l. 455. There is a pathetic irony in **κατέχουσι, .. ἔχοντας**, words naturally used of conquerors who *occupy* land. 'Many stalwart heroes possess graves of Trojan earth; the earth of their foes has covered the possessor.' The Greek custom seems to have allowed burial as well as cremation. Socrates speaks of his body *ἢ καιόμενον ἢ κατορυττόμενον* (Plat. Phaed. 115 E.).

l. 457. 'Of a public curse it pays the debt,' i.e. 'does the part.' (Eng. translates, 'he pays the debt,' i.e. the hated ruler; good sense, but such a change of subject is scarcely possible.)

l. 460. 'My boding thought awaits tidings from the dark:' imaginative way of saying, 'I anxiously forebode some hidden mischief, soon to be revealed.'

l. 464. **παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾷ βίου**, 'with sad reversal of life's lot.'

l. 465. **ἐν δ' ἀΐστοις .. ἀλκά**, 'he lies among the unseen, with none to aid;' *ἀΐστοις* may include any kind of destruction, even death, cp. *Ἀΐδης*.

l. 466. **ὑπερκόπως**, 'overmuch,' necessary correction for MSS. *ὑπερκότως*, 'wrathfully.'

l. 470. **ὄσσοις**, 'upon his eyes.' Pal., K. say, 'by the eyes of Zeus;' surely that would be *from* the eyes, *ἀπ' ὄσσων*. Possibly it is corrupt.

l. 471. **κρίνω**, 'I judge best,' used somewhat as *δοκεῖ* is. **ἄφθονον**, 'unenvied,' not its usual sense, which is 'plentiful.'

l. 474. **βίον**, 'the life,' i.e. of a captive, readily understood from *ἁλούς*; the phrase is varied from its natural form.

Notice the gradual way in which the chorus hint forebodings of ill against Agamemnon. The triumphant opening leads them to speak of Paris' sin and punishment; then the sorrow and loss of Menelaos; that leads to the suffering and slaughter of the Greeks who fought for the Atreidae; then the murmurings, caused by that, against the kings; the danger of too great success, especially if wrought by much bloodshed.

ll. 475–500. The Epode is best divided (as shown in the text) among different members of the chorus.

l. 478. MSS. *ἤ τοι θεῖόν ἐστι μὴ ψύθος*, a possible but very strange position of **μή**. There are various emendations, of which I have given Ahrens' as the simplest and best.

l. 479. **φρενῶν κεκομμένος**, 'stricken in mind,' gen. of ref.

l. 481. **πυρωθέντα**, 'fired.' The construction is acc. and inf. *consecutive*, with the usual *ὥστε* wanting.

l. 483. ''Tis like a woman's temper to welcome joy before the truth be known.' **αἰχμᾷ**, an obscure word, taken by most edd. (H., Schn., Eng., Well., etc.) to mean 'rule' here and Cho. 630. But there seems reason for believing, with Blomf. and Pal., that the word means 'spirit,' 'temper.' 592 confirms this view. [Hart. suggests *αὐχᾷ*.]

l. 485. Again an obscure passage, the clue to which lies (as Pal. shows) in the proper meaning of *ἐπινέμω*, 'to graze flocks over the border.' 'Too credulous, the bounds of her belief suffer a swift encroachment; but by swift fate perishes the rumour spread by her tongue,' i.e. she believes too readily, and her false reports are soon exposed. The assonance of *ταχύπορος*, *ταχύμορος*, is of course intentional, to point the rebuke.

l. 488. These lines are given to Klytaemnestra in MSS. They clearly belong to the chorus and are always printed so now.

[ll. 488–680. Scene II.

The herald is now seen coming on the left side of the stage crowned with olive. The leader of the chorus speaks from the Thymele. 'Now we shall know all.' The herald prays to all the gods; then describes the sufferings before Troy. Klytaemnestra comes forward, and sends a welcome to her coming lord. The chorus ask news of Menelaos: the herald tells the story of the storm which scattered the fleet. Still Menelaos may come.]

l. 490. **παραλλαγάς**, 'changes,' i.e. 'successions.'

l. 494. **κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος.** Observe the quaint and almost grotesque expression 'thirsty dust, neighbour brother of the clay.' Schn. sees in this speech a parody of Klytaemnestra's picturesque style; but there is no need to invent such refinements. Aeschylus' style, when applied to homely things, is liable to border on the grotesque.

ll. 496–7. Means simply that the tidings will be conveyed by voice, no longer by fire. **σοι** is rather a strange Ethic dative, as the chorus are not exactly addressing anyone, 'lighting thee the flame of wood;' Herm. suspects it.

l. 498. 'Either he will utter joy,'—or the reverse, he means; but stops short (aposiopesis) to avoid ill omen.

l. 500. 'To good already come may good be added' (lit. 'may addition be well').

l. 501. The want of a connection is explained by the now accepted idea that 475–502 is divided among different speakers.

l. 504. **φέγγει ἔτους**, merely picturesque-poetic for *ἔτει*, 'tenth-year's light.' Observe that the herald arrives from Troy, announcing the landing of Agamemnon, immediately after the beacon fires, on the morning after the capture. Such violations of possibility were held quite allowable by the licence of dramatic poetry.

l. 507. **μέρος** is usually omitted after *μετέχω*, the verb itself (with the partitive gen.) giving the idea sufficiently.

l. 509. The statues of these gods stood probably on the stage, according to the custom, in front of the palace.

l. 510. For Apollo was also the god of Pestilence and had shot his shafts at the Greeks 'for nine days long; and the pyres of the dead burnt thick,' Il. 1. 52–3. (**μηκέτι** of course after imperative *χαῖρε*.)

l. 511. **ἦσθ'** (Askew, K., D., Eng.) is the simplest and best reading. ΗΣΘ became ΗΛΘ by an easy corruption, which was then altered to *ἦλθες* by somebody who knew that it ought to be 2nd pers. but did not know the metre. (H.'s *ᾖσθ'* for *ᾔεισθα* is ingenious but unlikely, the phrase is so harsh.)

l. 513. **ἀγωνίους**, the best sense to give to this disputed word is derived from the old Homeric meaning of *ἀγών*, 'gathering' (like *ἀγορά*). Iliad 15. 428, 16. 500 *νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι*, 24. 1 *λῦτο δ' ἀγών*; cp. *ἀγῶνας θέντες* 835. So *ἀγώνιοι* will be the same as *ἀγοραῖοι*, 'gods of the gathering,' i.e. of the city life, see note on 88. (The Schol. on Hom. 24. 1 expressly says that Aeschylus calls *ἀγοραῖοι ἀγώνιοι*.)

l. 514. **τιμάορος** [*τιμα- Ϝορ-*, cp. *πυλωρός*, *οἰκοῦρος*, *φροῦρος*, etc.], lit. 'honour-guarder,' so 'champion,' 'protector.' The meaning 'avenger' was secondary, though naturally following from the primary one.

l. 517. **δορός**, gen. of separation, as after words of 'freeing,' 'emptying,' etc.; 'those whom the spear hath spared.'

l. 519. 'Royal seats,' the marble throne of the king at the door of the palace, where he sat to do justice, or on any state occasion.

ἀντήλιοι (Ionic form for *ἀνθ.*), 'sunward-facing,' the statues being placed to look east.

l. 521. **κόσμῳ**, 'duly.' Observe three datives of instr., manner, and time.

l. 524. **καὶ γὰρ οὖν**, 'for indeed it is fitting;' the *οὖν* adds earnestness or emphasis. So *καὶ γὰρ οὖν κείνην ἴσον ἐπαιτιῶμαι* Soph. Ant. 489, *εὖ γὰρ οὖν λέγεις ib.* 771, *οὐ γὰρ οὖν σιγήσομαι* O. C. 980.

l. 526. **τῇ κατείργασται πέδον**, 'wherewith the soil has been ploughed up,' a kind of grim irony; 'the mattock of avenging Zeus' having in a terrible sense 'ploughed up' the soil of Troy. (**τῇ**, Epic rel. for *ᾗ*.)

l. 527. This line is like Pers. 811 and some suspect it.

l. 532. 'For neither Paris nor the city, sharer of his ruin, can boast that their deeds surpassed their sufferings.' One *οὔτε* is omitted. So Soph. Phil. 771 *ἑκόντα μήτ' ἄκοντα*: and Shakespeare has it, 'but my five wits *nor* my five senses can dissuade one foolish heart from serving thee' Sonn. 141.

συντελής means, 'one who pays taxes with,' 'is rated with;' hence many take it to mean simply 'city connected with Paris:' but the idea of 'payment' must have been present to the poet in choosing the word; so the version given above is better.

l. 534. Paris is compared to a man convicted of 'theft and plunder.' If one so convicted refused to pay, the claimant seized property of his in pledge for his claim; and the thing seized was **ῥύσιον.** Helen is here the *ῥύσιον*; the word is used a little freely, as she was *the thing stolen*; but the defrauded man might seize *either* what he had lost *or* an equivalent. So here 'spoil' (L. S.) will do.

l. 536. **αὐτόχθονον**, 'land and all,' 137; but the reading is suspect.

l. 537. **θἀμάρτια**, *τὰ ἁμάρτια*, 'the penalty for sins,' they have paid twice over. The word is formed like **εὐαγγέλια**, 'reward for good tidings.' (Schol. so takes it.)

l. 538. **τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ**, the common pregnant construction.

l. 539. Enger's emendation for *χαίρω· τεθνᾶναι* is good; there is no such word as *τεθνᾶναι*; and the syllable which has fallen out is so like the next one: ΓΕΤΕΘΝ. [Karsten's *τὸ τεθνάναι* is also good.]

l. 542. **τερπνῆς**, pred., 'a sweet disease this that ye were affected with.'

l. 543. I.e. 'Tell me, and I shall understand.'

l. 546. **ὡς** for *ὥστε*, as often. See 358.

l. 547. *στρατῷ*, the MSS. reading, is plainly vicious, having come from 545. Hermann's **φρενῶν** is as good as any conjecture, the phrase occurring Ag. 1307, Cho. 80. 'Whence came this bitter gloom of heart upon thee?' [Or take *φράσον* with Weil: very simple.]

l. 550. **νῦν**, 'just now,' as we say.

τὸ σόν, 'thy words,' referring to 539. 'As thou saidst but now, 'twere joy to die.'

l. 552. MSS. read **εὖ λέξειεν**, which Paley retains. But not merely is *ἂν* required (Paley's instances being all either corrupt or not conditional, see below, 620); *εὖ* is plainly bad with *εὐπετῶς*, from which indeed it has arisen.

ll. 555–7. 'For were I to tell of our troubles and ill lodgment, scant deckways, and hard bivouacs—what hour of the day did we not groan, and [suffer]?' There is no apodosis to **εἰ λέγοιμι**—the break in the construction is more effective. **παρήξεις** is doubtful. It is commonly taken 'landings,' but *παρήκω* means 'to pass along,' and *πάρηξις* should mean 'passages;' probably (as Pal., *Br.*) on board ship, because it is opposed to *τὰ χέρσῳ*. The Schol. takes it so. In the last line **λαχόντες** is plainly corrupt. Pal. says, 'what did we not *receive as our daily portion*?' but **ἤματος μέρος** cannot surely mean this. We want some word like *πάσχοντες* or *κλαίοντες*. Perhaps best *ἀσχάλλοντες*: see crit. not.

l. 558. 'And again on land we had still worse to bear.' **τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ**, lit., 'and other things again on land.' *χέρσῳ*, dat. local.; it is prop. adj., 'dry,' but in Hom. is always used as subst. without art. *ἐπὶ χέρσον*, *προτὶ χέρσον*, *ἐν χέρσῳ*.

l. 562. **τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρίχα**, 'matting our locks like beasts.' The

masc. *τιθέντες* is strange; Schn. suggests he had *ὄμβροι* in his head; he must have meant to include rain, which would be far worse than mere dew. [Perhaps there is some corruption.]

l. 566. Notice this beautiful line: the poetic feeling for beauty of nature is so rare among the Greeks. 'When on his midday couch windless and waveless ocean sank to sleep,' as Conington finely turns it.

l. 567. Again the construction is effectively broken; *εἰ λέγοι* has no apodosis.

l. 568. **τοῖσι μέν.** The natural antithesis, 'the living,' is practically given 571.

l. 569. Consecutive constr. again, just as in 15.

l. 570. **ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν**, lit. 'reckon by the pebble;' i.e. 'count up accurately.'

l. 571. **τύχης**, gen. of reference, common after emotion verbs, *μηνίσας φόνου*, *οὗ χολωθείς*, *δείσας φίλον*, *θαυμάζω τινός*, etc.

l. 572. 'Nay, I bid a long farewell to our sufferings.' **ξυμφοράς** (Blomf.) is probably right: like *πολλὰ χαίρειν λέγω τινά* Eur. Hipp. 113. **καταξιῶ** is used in a strange sense, *εἰπεῖν* or *λέγειν* being usual; cf. 903 *ἀξιῶ*, 'I hail' or 'greet.'

l. 575. 'So that it is fit we (the survivors) should make boast before this beam of the sun.' **ὡς** for *ὥστε*.

l. 578. The MSS. reading *δόμοις . . . ἀρχαῖον* can be translated: 'have nailed up in their shrines to be a glory for all time': but this sense of *ἀρχαῖον* is not justifiable. I have taken Hartung's **δόμων . . . ἀρχαίων.**

κλύοντας, 'any one' hearing such things; yourselves and future generations.

l. 581. Observe *passive* future **τιμήσεται** of the older form; in the *pure* verbs this form is common, as *ἀγορεύσομαι*, *ἀδικήσομαι*, *ἀνιάσομαι*, *ἀξιώσομαι*, *ἀπατήσομαι*, etc. See Veitch, Greek Irregular Verbs.

l. 584. *ἡβᾷ*, 'learning well is ever young for the old'; i.e. 'the old are ever young enough to learn.' **εὖ μαθεῖν** is thus the subj. of *ἡβᾷ*. But the best correction is **ἥβη** (Marg.): 'The old have ever youth enough to learn aright.'

[*At this point Klytaemnestra advances from the palace by the middle door; the chorus-leader continues with a look towards her.*]

l. 586. **σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ**, 'but should gladden me likewise;' the subject of *πλουτίζειν* being surely *ταῦτα*, 'the tidings;' not Klytaemnestra, as H., nor *σέ*, as Pal.

l. 590. **καί τίς μ' ἐνίπτων** clearly refers to the incredulity of the chorus, 483. How would K. know of this, it is asked, as she was not there? The answer is that the chorus only express the general feeling of the citizens which she can naturally be supposed to learn.

l. 593. Observe the imperfect **ἐφαινόμην**. 'They strove to show me deluded.'

l. 594. **γυναικείῳ νόμῳ**, 'with womanly strain.' This may mean only that the women began, but the men (*ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν*) joined in; but perhaps she is still keeping up her satire against the chorus: 'like women (as you would say) the whole city joined in the cry.'

l. 597. **κοιμῶντες**, 'lulling to rest,' causing it to burn low and die out: with incense and perhaps wine.

l. 598. **τὰ μάσσω**, 'the further tale.'

l. 599. These lines are full of tragic irony to the audience who know her plot.

l. 600. It is best to take **ὅπως** final. 'In order that I may best welcome—(then the parenthesis)—take this message,' etc. If we construe *ὅπως ἄριστα* together, 'as well as I may,' and put a stop at *δέξασθαι* (as H., D., Eng., Schn., etc.), *ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον* is very abrupt.

l. 606. **εὕροι**. Observe the terrible irony of this wish, sent as a loving message to Agamemnon.

l. 607. **οἵανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε**, 'ay, even as he left her.' **οὖν** is used something like English 'in short;' the second phrase being substituted for *πιστήν*, as more expressive. Cp. Plat. Prot. ad init. *καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ εἶπε, καὶ οὖν καὶ ἄρτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἔρχομαι*, 'he said many kind things for me, and *in short*, I have only just left him.'

l. 612. **χαλκοῦ βαφάς**. Perhaps the best way of taking this difficult expression is to suppose a *double entendre*. 'I know no more of dalliance or rumour of shame from other man than—how to dip the brass;' i.e. than I do of the manufacture of tempered swords, clearly not a woman's province. But in her heart she knows well 'how to dip the brass' in Agamemnon's blood, and means to do it.

l. 613. **τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων** is effective, considering the cynical falseness of Klytaemnestra's speech.

ll. 615, 16. A difficult couplet. **τοροῖσιν ἑρμηνεῦσιν** can be taken (dat. inst.) with *μανθάνοντι* or with *εὐπρεπῶς*. The latter is perhaps most likely, as *ἑρμηνεύς* is naturally a person, and the instrumental use unlikely. 'Thus hath she spoken to thy listening ears her word—to clear interpreters fair seeming;' a very delicate way of hinting that she has said rather too much of her own virtues.

l. 617. **πεύθομαι**, other form of *πυνθάνομαι*. Similar pairs are **λείπω** *λιμπάνω, φεύγω φυγγάνω, λήθω λανθάνω*.

l. 620. 'I could not tell false tidings to seem fair;' **καλά** being predicative. **ὅπως λέξαιμι** is the remote deliberative optative; see Appendix I.

l. 621. 'For friends to reap delight therefrom for long;' i.e. the pleasure of good news if false is shortlived. **καρποῦσθαι**, epexegetic inf.

l. 622. The chorus reply, imitating the form of the herald's sentence: 'Would that then thou couldst speak truth to seem good;' **κεδνά** being predicative, like *καλά*. So Klaus., Ken. [It is usually taken (e.g. Herm., Eng., Schn., etc.), 'How then couldst thou, speaking good news, chance to speak truth?' understanding *εἰπών* again. This is possible, but not so neat as the other.]

l. 626. 'Setting sail in sight of all' (did he perish?); i.e. was he parted from you by his own act or by a storm?

l. 630. The important words are **ζῶντος ἢ τεθνηκότος**, which are predicative. 'Did rumour speak of him as alive or dead?' is the sense. **αὐτοῦ**, obj. gen. after *φάτις*; see 1367.

l. 635. 'How rose, how sank the storm?' *Mors.*

l. 637. **χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν**, 'the honours of the gods are apart (from evil tidings);' i.e. 'it beseems not the service of the gods.' He goes on to explain that if news of disaster were brought, instead of triumph, then a paean to the Erinyes (as opp. to *θεοί*) would be the right thing; as the news is good, and there is thanksgiving, it must not be spoiled.

l. 640. **τυχεῖν** is perhaps best taken as epexegetic inf.; and then *ἕλκος* and *πολλούς* are both accusatives in apposition to *πήματα* 638. Otherwise *ἕλκος τυχεῖν* is acc. inf., and then we have the awkwardness of the construction being changed to participle in 641. The sense is, 'to the *city* one woe, the public loss, to suffer, and many *men*,' etc.; i.e. the public loss and the private sufferings. [*τυχόν*, H.: neat but needless.]

l. 641. **ἐξαγισθέντας**, an expressive word; 'victims cast out,' 'cast out and consecrate to death.' *Mors.*

ll. 642, 3. 'With the two-thonged scourge, that Ares loves, a double-pointed curse, a bloody pair;' imaginative and high sounding phrases for the twofold suffering to state and individual already given 640.

Notice **τήν**, Epic relative. The accusatives in 643 are best taken as in agreement (by a kind of natural attraction or loose apposition) with the relative *τήν*.

l. 644. **μέντοι**, 'indeed,' ''tis true;' 'with such woes indeed laden one should sing this paean of the Furies.' *μέντοι* concessive, as often.

l. 645. **τόνδε**, i.e. such a one as suits these woes.

l. 648. Again the construction broken; he springs from the general statement (which expects *πῶς πρέπει τοῦτον συμμίξαι*; or something of the kind) to the first person.

l. 649. Taking the corrected reading **'Αχαιοῖς . . θεῶν**. Construe: 'storm sent by wrathful gods upon the Achaioi.' For *ἀμήνιτον θεῶν* see 311.

l. 650. Paley aptly quotes Milton, Par. Reg. 4. 412 'Water with fire in ruin reconciled;' and Schn. no less aptly Shakesp. Troilus and Cressida, 2. 2 'The winds and waves, old wranglers, took a truce.'

l. 651. **τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην**, 'proved their bond.'

l. 653. Some put the stop at **νυκτί**; but it is better as it is.

l. 654. **Θρῄκιαι**, 'north winds;' cp. 192.

l. 656. 'With violent storm and splash of beating rain.' Only in Epic style he couples the dat. of circumstances (*χειμῶνι*) to the dat. after *σύν*. The cases really describe the same relation, the preposition only making it more precise. Some propose to take **τυφῶ** as gen. after *ζάλῃ*; but it is better and simpler to take it, as above, with *χειμῶνι*.

l. 657. 'With the whirling gust of the evil shepherd;' a sudden bold metaphor flashing out in Aeschylus' style. The hurricane is 'an evil shepherd;' the fleet are his sheep which he drives hither and thither to their ruin.

l. 659. **ἀνθοῦν νεκροῖς**, 'flowering with dead,' another audacious metaphor; though *ἀνθέω* is more familiarly used in Greek metaphorically than 'flower' with us.

l. 661. **γε μὲν δή**, 'however;' *γε μήν*, *γε μέντοι*, *γε μὲν δή*, all used in this corrective or qualifying sense. Soph. Tr. 484 *ἐπεί γε μὲν δὴ πάντ' ἐπίστασαι*. **ἀκήρατον σκάφος**, best taken as apposition; not as Pal., 'unharmed in hull.' [Auratus' *νεώς τ'* is possible.]

l. 662. 'Stole us away or begged us off' from destruction; a bold but quite characteristic phrase, requiring no emendation.

l. 664. Paley prosaically thinks that this splendidly imaginative line describes an electric phenomenon! 'And on the bark sat Fortune the saviour, a willing passenger.'

l. 665. **ὡς** for *ὥστε*.

κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν, 'wave-tossed;' the subject is *ἡμᾶς*, or 'the ship,' readily understood from 661.

l. 666. **ἐξοκεῖλαι**, intr. 'run aground.'

l. 669. **ἐβουκολοῦμεν**, a metaphor quite different from, but as strange and picturesque as, the English 'brooded over.' So *βουκολούμενος πόνον*, Eumen. 78.

l. 670. **σποδουμένου**, lit. 'dusted;' i.e. 'beaten,' 'buffeted.'

l. 672. **τί μή**, 'why should they not?' the verb understood being the deliberative subjunctive, as *μή* shows. This is possible, though the phrase is unusual: but **τί μὴν** should be read, here and Soph. Ai. 668.

l. 674. **γὰρ οὖν**, justifying his good wish: 'May it turn out well; [and I mean it], for indeed Menelaos you may expect, first and most of all.' See 524.

l. 676. **δ' οὖν**, 'anyhow;' hastening to practical conclusion, cf. 34. **ἱστορεῖ**, 'finds.' The word is from *Ϝιδ-*, and properly means, 'to get knowledge,' hence is used (like *πυνθάνομαι*) to mean both *inquire* and *learn*.

[*After* 680 *the Herald goes off, and the Second Scene ends. The Chorus then sing the Second Stasimon, as follows:*—

Str. α'. (681–698). 'Who was it so fitly named Helena, the *ἑλε-ναῦς*? forth she sailed, with the armed huntsmen after her, to Simois' shores. *Ant. α'.* (699–716). The marriage-*κῆδος* (bond) proved indeed a *κῆδος* (care); Zeus exacted after-vengeance from those who triumphantly sang the marriage song, changing the note to bitter wailing.

Str. β'. (717–725). 'As a man rears a lion's whelp, gentle and a plaything at first; *Ant. β'.* (726–735) but soon its savage temper shows, and it ravages the flocks, filling the house with blood; so (*Str. γ'.* 737) Helena came, fair and lovely, to Troy; but she proved a curse.

Ant. γ'. (750–762). 'The old saying makes sorrow born of prosperity; this I do not hold with; it is impiety, not wealth, that begets evil offspring.

Str. δ'. Ant. δ'. (736–781). 'The old wickedness brings forth new wickedness when the appointed day comes, and fatal daring. But justice burns brightly in the cottage, flying from the guilty palace; she guides all to the goal.'

For the bearing of the Chorus on the drama, see Introduction, p. xviii.]

l. 684. **μή τις**. 'Was it some one?' **μή**, interrogative; originally, no doubt, *banishing the thought* (*μή* not *οὐ*). ('Surely not one who...!')

l. 685. **ἐν τύχᾳ**, 'by good hap,' it was a chance name, yet guided by secret foresight (*πρόνοια*) of what was to follow.

l. 686. **δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῆ θ'**, 'the sword-won bride, the source of strife.'

l. 687. The MSS. both give **ἑλένας**, which form points the word-play much better than *ἑλέναυς* the ordinary reading, if it is a possible form. It may be a Doric form from *ἑλε-ναϜ-ς*, as **Μενέλας** is from **Μενε-λαϜ-ς** (Salmasius, Eng.) 'Ship's hell, Man's hell, City's hell,' says Browning, though the English is stronger than the Greek. To the Greek mind there was something mysterious about the suitability of names to fates of men; it had a deep significance, and was not trivial or accidental. Compare Soph. Aj. 430; Theb. 658.

l. 690. **ἁβροτίμων**, 'delicate-costly,' a bold but not unlikely compound. [No need to accept Salmasius's ingenious emendation *ἁβροπήνων*, 'delicate-woven:' though Aesch. may have written it.]

l. 692. **γίγαντος**, 'mighty;' *γίγας* is redupl. from **γα-**, 'grow,' and means, 'the big-grown one,' 'the monster.'

l. 695. 'The host of shielded huntsmen' are of course the Greek pursuers.

MSS. **κατ' ἴχνος πλάταν ἄφαντον κελσάντων**, which will construe, 'on the track of those who drove ashore on Simois' leafy coast the vanishing oar,' but the emendation *πλατᾶν* makes the sense so vastly richer and better, '... huntsmen on the oarblades' unseen track [not a visible trail like other hunters] of those who,' etc.; a splendid phrase.

l. 699. 'Wrath, its end accomplishing, sped to Ilion this marriage bond, a trouble indeed,' a play on the two meanings of **κῆδος**.

l. 700. **ἀτίμωσιν πρασσομένα**, 'exacting requital for the wrong;' **τίοντας**, 'from those who honoured,' the regular construction of *πράσσεσθαι* in this sense. Cf. *Εὐρυμέδοντα χρήματα ἐπράξαντο* Thuc. 4. 65.

l. 705. 'Those who honoured over-much the bridal strain' were the *γαμβροί*, or 'marriage kin' of Helena, i. e. the children of Priam, who sang triumphantly the marriage song, glorying in Paris' deed. **ἐκφάτως** is a doubtful word, either 'unspeakably,' or better perhaps 'loudly' (lit. 'outspokenly.') **τίοντας**, they *honoured* the violent deed; they *dishonoured* hospitality and Zeus protector of friendship. The article is omitted with the participle, as 59.

l. 706. **τότ'**, 'at the time,' significantly; afterwards they 'sang another tune,' 709.

l. 707. **ὑμέναιον** is in apposition to *μέλος*.

l. 709. 'The note is changed, the city wails with bitter lament.' Literally, 'learning a new song of bitter lament (**πολύθρηνον**, predicative) the city groans.'

l. 711. Mr. Verrall, in the Journal of Philology, 9. 140, ingeniously explains **αἰν-όλεκ-τρον** as a play on *'Αλέξ-αν-δρον* with inverted syllables, 'calling Paris (no longer the man-repeller, but) the man of the fatal bridal.' But we can hardly accept this as more than a brilliant guess. It would, no doubt, suit excellently with the temper which dwells on the significance of *'Ελένα* and *κῆδος*; but the real objection is not the play on the words, but the remoteness of the resemblance.

ll. 714–16. Corrupt, but not so as to obscure the sense. **πολίταν** of the MSS. must be *πολιτᾶν*, gen. plur., and the first word must be an adv. 'utterly,' or an adj. 'miserable.' I have taken provisionally **παμπορθῆ** (Seidler., Herm.) **πολύθρηνον αἰῶνα διαὶ πολιτᾶν μέλεον αἷμ' ἀνατλᾶσα**, 'having borne a ruined life of lament for the piteous blood of her sons.'

διαί (Davies) for sake of metre, instead of *ἀμφί*; which might be a gloss on it.

l. 717. **λέοντος ἶνιν**, 'lion's whelp,' Conington's splendid and certain emendation of *λέοντα σίνιν*, which spoils the sense; in the strophe the lion is young and a delight, it is only in the antistrophe that it is grown up and become a pest. **ἶνις**, old poetic word, from *ἴς*, 'strength,' meaning the 'vigorous young' thing, occurs Eum. 323, Suppl. 43.

ἔθρεψεν, habitual aorist, used from Homer down, e.g. *κοτύλην τις τυτθὸν ἐπέσχε* Il. 22. 494; so the verbs below, *ἔσχε, ἀπέδειξε, ἔτευξε, ἐφύρθη*. Construe it by the present, 'rears.'

l. 718. **δόμοις**, local (Epic use).

ἀγάλακτον, 'robbed of his mother's milk,' antithesis to *φιλόμαστον*, 'desiring the breast.' [Others take *ἀγάλακτον οἴκοις*, 'fed with the same milk as the house' (*ἀ-γαλ*, like *ἄ-λοχος*, *ἀ-δελφός*); possibly Wecklein's *ἀγάλακτα βούτας ἀνὴρ φιλομάστων* is right.]

l. 720. **προτελείοις**, 65.

l. 723. MSS. *ἔσχ'*, intrans. 'lay,' but as *ἔχω* is only used with adverbs intransitive, probably *ἔσκε* (Homeric frequentative for *ἦν*), which occurs Persae 656, is the right reading [or *ἔσχ'* . . . *φαιδρωπῶς* . . . *σαίνοντα*].

l. 725. **σαίνων γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις**, 'taught to fawn by its hunger-pangs.'

l. 728. **ἦθος** (for MSS. *ἔθος*), Conington's emendation, again improves the sense, and suits the strophe.

l. 730. MSS. *μηλοφόνοισιν ἄταις* or *ἄταισι*. The best correction is **μηλοφόνοισι σὺν ἄταις**, Ahrens (Eng., Schn.), the syllables *-σι συν* having run into *-σιν*.

[Other attempts, *ἄγαισι*, *ἄγαισι*, H., *ἄσαισι*, Con., *θανάτοισι*, K., are less suitable.]

'For, in requital to those who reared him, with fell destruction among the flocks he makes a feast unbidden.'

l. 735. **ἱερεύς τις ἄτας**, 'a priest of ruin,' fine imaginative phrase, suggesting that *'Άτη*, or Destruction, sends the lion to sacrifice to her.

l. 737. '(So) I should say there came at the first a spirit of windless calm,' etc.

πάραυτα, 'at first,' opposed to what happened afterwards, *παρακλίνασ' ἐπέκρανεν*. So Eur. *πάραυτα δ' ἡσθεὶς ὕστερον στένει*. The point of the comparison is the contrast between the softness and sweetness *at first*, and the bloody and bitter end.

Observe the passion and the splendour of these wonderful lines.

[Others take *πάραυτα*, 'in like manner.' Kl., K., Eng. So L.S., who however, mistranslate it in Demosthenes, l. c. Moreover Hesych. says *παραχρῆμα*.]

l. 745. 'Yet turning aside [from the first sweetness and softness] she brought to pass a fatal fulfilment of marriage; she came an evil neighbour, an evil guest, to the sons of Priam, at the bidding of Zeus, god of friendship, a Fury, a woe of brides.'

l. 750. Observe **γέρων** used as adj., 'old.' It is a poetical use from Homer down (*γέρον σάκος*, Od. 22. 184).

l. 751. **μέγαν τελεσθέντα ὄλβον**. 'Prosperity when grown to full estate.' Aeschylus is rejecting the old Greek superstition that Prosperity or Wealth brings woe; it is not wealth, he says, but always Sin. See Introduction, pp. xiii, xviii.

l. 760. **μέτα**, 'afterwards,' adverbially.

l. 762. **καλλίπαις**, 'is blessed in the children,' i.e. is good and prosperous in succeeding generations.

ll. 763–771. For the lesser corruptions of the MSS., which have been corrected, see critical notes. The only important corruption is *νεαρὰ φάους κότον*, which is desperate. I have adopted Ahrens' *φάος τόκου* as the best sense and least violent change. (*νεαρά* comes from a gloss.)

[Paley's correction, *νέα δ' ἔφυσε κόρον*, gets a good sense and antithesis to *παλαιὰ μέν*: but the real antithesis to *παλαιὰ μέν* is given in *νεάζουσαν ὕβριν*, and *κόρον* is too bold, introducing as it does an altogether new idea.]

l. 764. 'At this time or at that, whene'er the appointed day of birth arrive.'

l. 770. To take **θράσος μελαίνας μ. ἄτας** together, 'the boldness of a black Curse' (with H., Kl., Eng., Schn., Weil, etc.,) is very harsh; it is far better that the two births should be 'Young Violence,' 763, and *Θράσος*, 'Recklessness,' 'black curses to the house, like to their parents,' reading *εἰδομένας*.

l. 775. To omit **βίον** suits the metre and improves the sense; 'honours the just man.'

l. 776. **τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἔδεθλα**, 'the gold-bespangled dwellings.' *ἔδελθα*, a certain and beautiful emendation by Auratus of the meaningless MSS. *ἐσθλά*.

l. 779. **ὅσια προσέμολε**, sc. *ἔδεθλα*, 'she visits the pure dwellings.' *προσέμολε*, gnomic aor. 717.

l. 780. **παράσημον αἴνῳ**, met., as often in Greek, from coining, 'with its counterfeit glory' (lit. 'stamped amiss with praise').

l. 781. 'And she guides all to the goal.'

Ostensibly the meaning of all this reflection (750–781) is that the sin of Paris and Helena has brought the misery on themselves and Troy; but the underlying meaning to the audience is that the past sins of Agamemnon and his house must bear other sins, and ruin in the end. So there is a terrible sense concealed in **πᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμᾷ**, namely, the shadow of the coming tragedy, which is effectively pointed by the entry of *the king*.

[*Agamemnon now approaches in a triumphal car, with his attendants and prisoners, and in another chariot Kassandra as prisoner; the Chorus address him.*

ll. 782–809. 'Conqueror, my king, how shall I fitly address thee? It is easy to profess joy; show of sympathy in woe or weal is common, where there is no true feeling. Yet, a wise king can detect false flattery. When thou didst go forth we did not think well of thy wisdom; but now we greet heartily the victors. And thou shalt discern who of the citizens has been true guardian of thy state.']

l. 786. 'Neither overshooting nor running short of the due mark of praise,' where the English renders exactly the mixed metaphors of **ὑπεράρας** ('the bow'), and **ὑποκάμψας** ('with the chariot'), in the Greek.

l. 788. **τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι**, 'Seeming to be,' they prefer [to being really].

l. 791. 'While no stab of pain reaches the heart,' i.e. without any sincere grief.

l. 793. **ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς**, 'in seeming sympathy.'

l. 794. 'Constraining their grave looks' to a false smile.

l. 795. **προβατογνώμων**, 'wise to discern his flock,' an obvious metaphor.

ll. 796–8. 'The eyes of no man can escape him, which, as though from a kindly heart, with a watery love are fawning,' i.e. he can discern the 'watery' love with its pretence of good will. **ὑδαρής**, a most expressive word.

l. 801. 'No graceful portrait had I drawn of thee (*μοι*, dat. agent after pf. pass.), nor as one well wielding,' etc.

l. 803. MSS. read *θράσος ἑκούσιον*, no metre or sense. Some read *ἀκούσιον*, 'bringing to dying men courage against their will,' forcing the reluctant and suffering army to persevere. This is surely impossible. Ahrens ingeniously suggested **ἐκ θυσιῶν**, 'bringing to dying men courage from sacrifices,' referring to Iphigeneia. Still more ingenious is Wecklein's *θάρσος ἑτώσιον*.

ll. 805, 6. With the MSS. reading *πόνος* we can only construe, 'but now from the depths of a friendly heart (lit. 'not from the top of the heart, nor unlovingly') the toil is welcome to those who have accomplished it,' which can only mean, 'the army no longer complain;' but the point is that 'we the *citizens* have changed our unfavourable opinion;' so the ordinary reading makes irrelevant sense. Weil suggests **πνόος** (= *πνοή*, Hesych.) and Eng. adopts it; the sense is then satisfactory: 'but now from the depths of a friendly heart a breeze of goodwill is wafted to the victors.' Intrinsically the word is quite possible, it is exactly like *ῥόος, ῥοῦς, πλόος, πλοῦς*. But perhaps a better suggestion is **πόλις** which certainly gives a less strained meaning.

l. 808. **ἀκαίρως**, 'amiss,' a euphemism; he means of course to hint at the plotting and faithlessness of the queen and her lover.

[ll. 810–974. SCENE III. *The chariots stop; Klytaemnestra comes out of the palace to welcome the king, who speaks from the chariot.* First he gives thanks; speaks to Chorus about false friends; promises to see well to the state. Klytaemnestra describes her wretchedness while her lord was away, and her joy at seeing him again; she then calls her attendants to lay down purple carpeting for him to enter the palace. After some reluctance he agrees, and descends, bidding her be kind to Kassandra. The queen says she scorns the waste of wealth in comparison with joy at his return, and ends with a cry to Zeus to accomplish *her prayers*.]

l. 811. **τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταιτίους**, might mean 'who helped to win *for* me

(K.), but it better suits the pride of the speech to take it, 'helpers with me in our return.'

l. 812. **ὧν,** attracted relative for ἅ, since *πράσσεσθαι* has double acc. (700).

l. 813. **δίκας . . κλύοντες,** 'not hearing pleadings from the tongue,' but with divine insight and justice.

l. 816. **ψήφους ἔθεντο,** 'voted,' only the word which ought to be a transitive verb governing *φθοράς* is expanded at the last moment into the more vivid *ψήφους ἔθεντο*. Grammar is sacrificed to picturesqueness. Perhaps however the passage is corrupt: and in that case the best correction is Dobree's *φθορᾶς*.

l. 817. The MSS. reading requires no alteration here: 'but to the opposite urn hope of the hand came nigh, yet it was not filled,' a quaint and fanciful but quite characteristic way of saying 'the other urn expected votes but did not get them.' The two urns (called in Attic *κάδισκοι*) were one for condemnation, one for acquittal; 'the bloody vessel' is of course the former. This was only one among various methods of balloting at Athens. [Others take *χειρός*, less naturally, as gen. after *πληρουμένῳ*. Paley's *χεῖλος* spoils the sense.]

l. 818. 'The smoke yet plainly shows the captured city;' **ἁλοῦσα** attributive, not part of the predicate.

l. 819. **ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι,** 'the gusts of Destruction yet live; and dying with them the ash sends forth rich incense of wealth.' There is no need to alter with Herm. to *θυηλαί*, 'sacrifices;' the strong bold imagery of Aeschylus might easily call the Fire of Troy 'the storms of Destruction.'

l. 823. I adopt Francken's **ἐφραξάμεσθα** (so H. Paley) for the MSS. (inappropriate) *ἐπραξ*. 'We set our wrathful snares close round the city.' The same word, *φράσσω* (properly 'to hedge in,' or 'fence close'), is used of a net, 1376.

l. 824. 'The wild beast of Argos' is the armed troop concealed in the wooden horse.

l. 826. 'Springing its leap, what time the Pleiads set,' i. e. in early November. The common story that Troy was taken in spring Aeschylus deserts; probably tradition varied.

l. 828. **αἵματος,** gen. after *ἄδην*; cf. *satis, c. gen.* in Lat.

l. 830. **μέμνημαι κλύων,** not 'I remember hearing,' which is flat, but 'I heard and remember.'

l. 833. **φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ',** 'the prosperous friend;' *φίλον* substantival, as often.

l. 834. 'The poison of illwill seated at the heart.' **καρδίαν,** acc. after verb of sitting, cf. *σέλμα ἡμένων* 184, *ναῦν ἐφέζετο* 664.

l. 836. **αὐτός,** displaced to get next to *αὐτοῦ*, a common tend-

ency; so *ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὑτῷ* Pr. 921; and similarly *πρὸς ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον* *ib.* 276.

ll. 838–40. These words are variously taken according to the punctuation. The following seems simplest and most natural. 'I know and can tell (for well have I learnt) of that ghost of friendship, that phantom of a shade, men seeming to wish me truly well.' I. e. **κάτοπτρον, εἴδωλον, δοκοῦντας,** all in apposition, and acc. after **λέγοιμ' ἄν. κάτοπτρον,** a bold word for 'image;' it properly means 'mirror.'

l. 841. **οὐχ ἑκών,** so (Odyssey 24. 117) Agamemnon says: 'And it was a full month ere we had sailed all across the wide sea, for scarce could we win to our cause Odysseus' (Butcher and Lang, p. 392).

l. 842. **σειραφόρος,** 'trace-horse,' who helped the yoke horses (the Atreidae) to draw the chariot.

l. 843. 'Whether indeed he be dead or living of whom I speak.'

l. 844. **τὰ ἄλλα πρός,** 'the other things which concern,' the article goes on to the *πρός*.

l. 845. **ἀγῶνας,** 'gathering,' see note on 513.

l. 848. **ὅτῳ,** best taken neuter and general.

l. 850. **πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου.** Porson's beautiful and convincing emendation of MSS. *πήματος τρέψαι νόσον*: which Hermann strangely defends, though *τρέψαι* is an unnatural word, and *νόσον πήματος* much harsher than *πῆμα νόσου*.

l. 852. **δεξιώσομαι,** 'I will give greeting;' but the construction is usually transitive, with acc. What he did do when he reached the *μέλαθρα* and *δόμους ἐφεστίους* was very different from thanksgiving!

l. 856. Observe her cynical shamelessness; she adopts the tone of a chaste and modest matron who scarcely likes to speak of her wifely love before others.

l. 857. A deadly double meaning here; in a terrible sense 'fear was waning' for her, but to Agamemnon the meaning was natural and simple, 'the elders and I have grown familiar in the king's long absence.'

l. 862. Note the dramatic irony again of **ἔρημον** in the mouth of the adulteress.

ll. 864, 5. Order a little loose, but meaning clear; 'and that when one had come with one woe another should bring a worse thereafter, announcing them to the house.'

l. 867. **ὠχετεύετο,** rumour 'came pouring in.'

l. 868. Ahrens' **τέτρηται** is a great improvement on MSS. *τέτρωται*, which is dull after *τραυμάτων*, 'no network were as full of holes as he' (*Mors.*). The cold-blooded phrase suits Klytaemnestra.

l. 871. Certainly interpolated. **πολλὴν ἄνωθεν** has got in from 875, and the rest was written by some dull copyist. (H. has an elaborate and astonishing defence of it.) Without the line the sense is, 'a second

Geryon, with triple body, a triple vest of earth he might have boasted, dying once with each shape.' Geryon, the three-headed (or as here three-bodied, *forma tricorporis umbrae,*) monster whose oxen Herakles drove away from Spain.

l. 872. **ἐξηύχει λαβών**, the MSS. reading is possible, 'he might have boasted it, having received it;' but λαβεῖν is perhaps more likely.

l. 875. 'Ofttimes have others loosed the high-hung halters from my neck, caught violently in the noose.' Others construe, 'seized me by violence and loosed;' but that would be ληφθείσης, the *act*, not λελημμένης, the *state*. [Wecklein's ἀνημμένης ('hung') is probable.]

l. 878. 'In whom lie the pledges of our love.' **κύριος**, 'the owner,' 'the lord.' MSS. πιστευμάτων; but **πιστωμάτων**, the regular word, is surely right.

l. 880. Strophios, king of Phokis, friend (and according to one story brother-in-law) of Agamemnon, received Orestes, and brought him up with his own son Pylades. The details are given very variously.

l. 881. **ἀμφίλεκτα** (like Lat. *anceps*) here means simply 'double;' 1585 it means 'disputed:' literally, it is 'spoken both ways,' which covers both meanings.

l. 884. **βουλήν**, 'the council,' the πρέσβος Ἀργείων who have helped the queen to rule. [Perhaps καταρράψειεν Scal. 'might frame a plot.']

ὥστε for ὡς, 'as it is men's wont.'

l. 885. **πεσόντα** is Agamemnon, whose fall before Troy would have been 'doubly' woeful; to himself, and to his kingdom and family at home.

l. 886. **μέντοι**, confirmative, 'verily,' 'assuredly;' so Plato, Phaed. 65 D φαμέν τι εἶναι δίκαιον; φαμὲν μέντοι νὴ Δία, 'assuredly we do.'

l. 887. **ἔμοιγε μὲν δή**, 'for myself however,' 661.

l. 888. **κατεσβήκασι** (intr. perf.), 'are dried up;' so of the sea, 959. So Hesiod, Op. 588, speaks of αἶγες σβεννύμεναι, 'goats which will not yield milk.' The common use is 'to quench,' of fire, etc.; but probably the earliest meaning was vaguer, suiting both fire and liquids.

l. 890. 'Weeping that the watch-fires lit for thee were ever unregarded,' i.e. the fires we lit night after night awaiting thee, who never camest. This is better than supposing λαμπτηρουχίαι to refer to *beacons of victory*, which would give a very strained sense to ἀτημελήτους, viz. 'unlit.' [Enger takes it as above, only reads needlessly καίουσα.]

l. 892. **ὑπαί**, best taken as governing ῥιπαῖς, 'beneath the light hum of the singing gnat.'

l. 893. **θωύσσω**, word of obscure origin, usually 'to call, shout, cry.'

l. 894. 'More woes than the time of my sleep,' an abridged (but quite intelligible) expression; she means 'more woes than could be

suffered in the time I was asleep.' Observe also the picturesque **συνεύδοντος**, the time 'is sleeping with her' that passes while she sleeps. The *personifying* instinct pervades the language of Aeschylus. Somewhat similarly in Soph. χρόνος συνὼν διδάσκει O. C. 7, ὁ προστατῶν χρόνος διῆγέ μ' El. 781, and σύμφυτος αἰών above, 107.

l. 896. **σταθμῶν**, in the old Homeric sense, 'stalls,' or 'folds.'

l. 897. 'The saviour forestay of the ship,' *Br.*, **πρότονος** being the ropes from the top of the mast to the bows, which kept the mast from falling back.

l. 899. **καί** has offended many editors, as the other nouns are unconnected; but Kl. and Schn. are no doubt right in saying that it connects 896–898, which describes the *protection and security* afforded by the master, with 899–901, which describes the *delight* of his unhoped-for return. The transition from one set to the other set is marked by *καί*.

l. 902. **τἀναγκαῖον**, 'the stress of need.'

l. 903. **ἀξιῶ**, 'I greet him,' see 572.

l. 904. 'Let none envy me' my luck; 'let no (god or man) grudge my joy and triumph at my lord's return;' she acts the ordinary feeling of a pious Greek in moments of great delight, which increases the irony of the situation to those who know her purpose.

[*Here Klytaemnestra kneels to him.*]

l. 908. **τέλος**, 'task.'

l. 912. Observe the splendid irony again of this terrible line, 'That justice lead him to a home unlooked for.'

l. 913. 'All else my care, not overcome by sleep, shall order justly with God's aid, as fated.' **εἱμαρμένα**, 'being fated,' really causal use of participle. The dark irony is carried through these lines also. They seem to mean, 'We will be careful with God's aid to order things as is fit;' they do mean, 'What justice and fate require (the murder) I will by God's aid accomplish.'

l. 914. Leda, wife of Tyndareus, visited by Zeus in the form of a swan, laid two eggs; out of one came Helena and Klyt., out of the other Castor and Pollux. This was one common form of a variously told tale.

l. 915. **εἰκότως** governs the datives; 'as befits my absence.'

l. 920. A contemptuous line; 'pour thy low-grovelling clamour in my ears.' Note **χαμαιπετές** transferred from her to the cry.

l. 924. **ἐμοὶ μέν**, 'to me at least;' the antithesis being suppressed, μέν gets this meaning naturally.

l. 925. **λέγω**, 'I bid,' as often.

l. 926. **ποδοψήστρων**, 'foot-rugs' [ψα-, 'rub'], contemptuous again.

l. 927. **κληδὼν ἀΰτεῖ**, 'fame's voice is loud.'

l. 929. 'Count a man happy when he has ended his life in prosperity,' the well-known Greek thought, cf. Soph. O. T. 1530. The rapidity of

Agamemnon's thoughts make the language a little obscure. 'Fame does not require such gauds; prudence is God's best gift; no man can be called happy till his death;' i. e. they are needless, these splendours, and perhaps dangerous; who knows what may happen even to me?

l. 930. MSS. read *εἰ πάντα δ' ὣς πράσσοιμ' ἄν*, which is quite possible Greek, but only as a *double* conditional sentence, where *πράσσοιμ' ἄν* is the verb, not only of the protasis to *εὐθαρσὴς ἐγώ*, but also strictly of the *apodosis* to some other protasis understood. E. g. Dem. Meid. 582 fin. *εἰ οὗτοι χρήματα ἔχοντες μὴ προοῖντ' ἄν*, if these men *would not spend money if they had it*; Isocr. Archid. 120 *εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς ἂν ἀξιώσειε ζῆν ἀποστερούμενος τῆς πατρίδος*, 'if no one *would care to live if deprived* of his country.' And without second protasis expressed, *εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦτο* Dem. Phil. 1. § 18. So here the MSS. reading means, 'if in all things so [not *I were to prosper*, which is *πράσσοιμι*, but] I *might* prosper' ('should chance so befal' or something of the kind). Putting it otherwise, *εἰ πράσσοιμι* means, 'if I *were to* prosper,' *εἰ πράσσοιμ' ἄν*, 'if I *have a chance* of prospering,' and this latter makes quite good sense. In fact *πράσσοιμ' ἄν* is a variation, not for *πράσσοιμι*, but for *πράξω*, less confidently expressed. I see therefore no need to take *πράσσοιμεν* (H., D.), though doubtless this also would make perfectly good sense: 'If so I fared in all things then I need not fear,' if everything were to turn out as this has, my luck would indeed be good. Nor is there any need of Weil's ingenious conjecture *εἶπον τάδ' ὡς* . . .

l. 931. 'Yet order this not counter to my purpose.' Observe aor. imper. with *μή*, contrary to rule; but readily explained by the order, the verb coming first. **γνώμη**, like *γνῶναι*, can be used for 'resolve.'

l. 932. 'I too, be assured, shall not break my purpose;' **ἐμέ** is emphatic as well as *γνώμην*; as though he said, 'Purpose! I too have one as well as thou.'

l. 933. 'Perchance *in fear* thou mad'st this vow?' Having failed to get him to comply as a favour, she tries a taunt of cowardice. **ἄν** of course goes with *ηὔξω*; she *means*, 'you *did* vow,' but the conditional form of the sentence ('you may have done' = '*perhaps* you did') points the sneer better, with its ironical moderation. So Soph. O. T. 523 *ἦλθε τοὔνειδος τάχ' ἄν*, 'perchance this reproach came.' So *παρεκόπης ἄν* 1252.

l. 934. The answer is that of a dignified and unyielding king: 'If e'er man did, with knowledge I spake my resolve.' **τέλος**, 'the final decision.' Agamemnon replies in effect that it was not a cowardly vow but a deliberate purpose.

l. 935. **τί ἂν δοκεῖ**, one of those short phrases like *ἵνα τί*, where one would not say the verb is understood, but rather that *τί* stands for the omitted clause. So Plat. Phaedr. 234 C *τί σοι φαίνεται ὁ λόγος; οὐχ ὑπερφυῶς εἰρῆσθαι* (see Riddell, Dig. of Gr. Id. 121).

l. 938. The very sentiment of the chorus, 456.

l. 939. 'Who stirs no hatred, is not envied either.' You must risk *φθόνος*, the evil envy, if you wish to have *ζῆλος*, the desirable envy. So (Menex. 242 A) Socrates, describing Athens after the war, says, *ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὅπερ φιλεῖ τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι προσπίπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν ζῆλος ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ φθόνος.* Arist. Rhet. 2. 11 defines the two, *ἐπιεικές ἐστιν ὁ ζῆλος καὶ ἐπιεικῶν, τὸ δὲ φθονεῖν φαῦλον καὶ φαύλων.*

l. 940. Agamemnon, already yielding, tries a last appeal to her womanly dignity. 'A woman should not be contentious;' but she skilfully appeals to his generosity as victor. 'It becomes the fortunate to be vanquished too,' to yield in their turn.

l. 942. 'Dost thou too esteem this victory in the strife?' **νίκην τήνδε**, this victory of which you speak, taking up *νικᾶσθαι*. [Goodwin, who has discussed with great subtlety all this passage (Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass. 1877), translates, 'is *this* the kind of victory ..?' i. e. *τὸ νικᾶσθαι*, ironically. But **καὶ σύ** is the really emphatic part, not *τήνδε*, and the meaning given above is simpler.] Observe **δήριος**, Ionic gen.

l. 943. 'Yield: yet the victory grant me willingly;' i. e. give way, but with good grace. For **μέντοι γε**, cf. Dem. Phil. 1. § 49 *οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δία προαιρεῖσθαι*, 'not however by Zeus that his intention is.' The line seems to have no caesura; but *μέντοι* is perhaps slightly felt to be a divisible word. [Perhaps **παρείς γ'** is more natural.]

l. 944. **ὑπαὶ . . λύοι**, tmesis, 450.

l. 945. 'These sandals, slaves beneath my feet' (*Mors.*) renders the expression very aptly. For **πρό-δουλος**, cf. *ἀντί* and its use in comp., see 406. Aesch. uses *ἀντίδουλος* Frag. 180.

l. 946. The reading of Fa. *σὺν ταῖσδε* (i. e. *ἀρβύλαις*) makes good sense, but the *μή* is then too late in the sentence, since it means 'lest;' with **καὶ τοῖσδε**, *μή* is 'not,' and its position natural.

ἁλουργές (used as subst. from adj. *ἁλουργής*, 'sea-wrought,' i. e. made from sea-purple), 'sea-purple cloths.'

l. 948. MSS. *σωματοφθορεῖν*, corrupt; best reading is **δωματοφθορεῖν** (Schütz, Herm., Eng., Schn.), 'to waste the house's wealth,' which she answers 961.

l. 950. **τούτων**, gen. of reference, lit. 'as regards these things.' 'Thus much for this.' Cf. *τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φῄς*; Soph. El. 317.

l. 954. **ἐξαίρετον**, the regular word for the choice prizes *taken out* of the booty for kings or heroes: *ἐξαίρετον δώρημα* Eum. 402, *ἐξείλεθ' αὑτῷ κτῆμα* Soph. Tr. 245.

l. 956. 'But since I am subdued, to hearken to thee in this.' **ἀκούειν** consec. or epexegetic inf.

[*After* 957 *Agamemnon's sandals are untied by an attendant while the queen is speaking; she then, probably yet speaking, escorts him slowly*

to the central door: after 972 *he enters with his train, and she utters her short prayer*, 973, 4, *then follows him. Kassandra remains seated and silent in the chariot.*]

l. 959. A fine answer to his scruples: the sea is boundless (*κατασβέσει* 888), we can get more purple; the house is royal and wealthy.

l. 960. 'The juice ever fresh, precious as silver, of plenteous purple,' very Aeschylean accumulated phrase. Schn. quotes Theopompus (150 years later than Aesch.) as saying, 'the sea-purple (among the Kolophonians) fetched its weight in silver.'

l. 961. 'We have a house, to supply store of these things.' No reason to alter **οἶκος** of MSS. to *οἴκοις*. **ἔχειν**, epexegetic. **τῶνδε**, partitive, 'some of.' Cf. Ar. Ach. 184 *ξυνελέγοντο τῶν λίθων*, 'they began to collect stones.' [Perhaps *ἅλις* for *ἄναξ* (Karst.) is right.]

l. 964. **προὐνεχθέντος**, 'had it been ordered,' to me . . when devising, etc., gen. abs. conditional.

l. 965. MSS. *μηχανωμένης*; possible Greek ('when I was devising'), but very unlikely with the other fem. genitives. The dative is the best correction, governed by *προὐνεχθέντος*. **κόμιστρα**, 'price for thy return' Lit. 'for bringing thee back,' *κομίζω*.

l. 966. **ἵκετ'**, gnomic aor.

l. 967. **σκιὰν σειρίου κυνός**, 'shadow *against* the Scorching Hound,' loose use of the gen.

σειρίου κυνός: Seirios was 'the dog of Orion,' constellation near Orion (the brightest star usually being called Seirios): it rose about mid-July, the hot, unhealthy time of year. Hence Hom. Il. 22. 30 says of it *κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται*. Cf. Verg. G. 4. 285 '*rapidus torrens Sirius Indos*.'

ll. 968–72. An expansion of two metaphors: 'the return of the master brings as it were warmth in winter and coolness in summer.'

l. 972. **τελείου**, 'the rightful lord,' the man whose will is law in the house, who has the *τέλος* or final authority. This suggests to her *τέλειος Ζεύς*, in a different sense, 'Zeus the fulfiller.'

[*Agamemnon goes in: she stops and prays with lifted hands.*]

l. 974. **τῶνπερ**, Epic for *ὧνπερ*.

[*Klytaemnestra goes in, and the Third Scene ends. The Chorus sing the Third Stasimon.*]

Strophe 1 (975–87). 'Whence come these obstinate forebodings? My heart is fearful. It is long since they sailed to Troy.' (*Ant.* 988–1000). 'I have seen them safe-returned; yet still within comes misgiving; may it be false!'

Strophe 2 (1001–17). 'In health, disease is near; in prosperity, a hidden reef. But wealth may be saved by timely sacrifice; famine averted by timely harvest.'

Ant. 2 (1018–34). 'Only blood once spilt no charm can recall; for did Zeus not slay Asklepios? But for the uncertainty of the future I should have poured out these misgivings; as it is, I hide them in gloomy silence.'

l. 976. Several edd. prefer *δεῖγμα* (Fl.), construing 'a spectre,' but there is no evidence of any such meaning, and *δεῖμα* (Fa.) is more impressive and natural. **προστατήριον**, 'stationed before,' describes the *haunting* of the misgiving, 'why flits thus obstinately this fear, haunting my heart prophetic?'

l. 979. Notice the imaginative language: the fear is now called 'a prophetic song.'

l. 980. **οὐδ' ἀποπτύσαι** is much the easiest reading, and being a natural construction, should be preferred to *ἀποπτύσαν*. 'Nor to spurn it away like dark dreams does ready confidence sit at my heart's dear throne;' the inf. depending on *θάρσος*.

l. 983. The reading of MS. Farnese, with alteration of *ξυνεμβόλοις* (unknown word) to *ξυνεμβολαῖς*, will construe: 'Time has grown old since the cables were fastened (on the fastenings of the cables) of the vessel on the sand.' But there is probably some corruption: *ἐπί* is odd, so is *συνεμβολαῖς*, so is *ἀκάτας* sing.

l. 990. The 'dirge,' or *θρῆνος*, was sung with only flute, no lyre. So Eum. 331 *ὕμνος ἐξ Ἐρινύων ἀφόρμικτος*.

l. 992. **τὸ πᾶν**, see Appendix II.

l. 995. 'Not vainly bodes my thought, my heart beating with eddies against my true prophetic breast' (or **τελεσφόροις δίναις**, 'with eddies of fulfilment').

σπλάγχνα and **κέαρ** are in apposition. The sense is, 'my boding heart is not vain; my bosom's foresight is true, and will be fulfilled.'

l. 998. I have taken Kennedy's **τοιαῦτ'** for the corrupt *τοι* of Farnese MS. as nearer than Hermann's *τὸ πᾶν*. The Fl. MS. has no metre. The meaning then is, 'But I pray that such things may turn out lies, far from my expectation, and be not accomplished.'

l. 1001. MSS. are corrupt here: see notes on text. The metre is probably ⏑⏑– three times repeated: and I have taken Paley's *μάλα γέ τοι* | *τὸ μεγάλας* | *ὑγιείας* (only spelling this last word as usual, and supposing –*ει*– short with Klausen, compare *δείλαιος, γεραιός, τοιοῦτος*, etc., see 1256). The sense is, 'Of lusty health at least the bounds are insatiable,' i. e. no man is ever satisfied with the greatest prosperity: (*forebodings are therefore just*) 'for disease the neighbour presses hard behind the wall.' The words in italics show the connection.

l. 1005. Perhaps a line omitted here, see 1022.

l. 1006. **ἔπαισεν**, gnomic aorist, 'strikes ofttimes a hidden reef;' so *ἔδυ, ἐπόντισε* below.

l. 1008. 'And of gathered wealth if fear casts out a part with well-measured throw,—the whole house doth not founder, with sorrow overladen, nor does it sink the hull.' The construction is broken: **ὄκνος βαλών** is nom. pendens, and the subject is changed. It is true (as K. observes) that *ὄκνῳ* would set the construction right ('the house if it cast out in fear'). But it is more in Aeschylus' manner to personify fear; and the anacoluthon is of a natural kind. Cf. Soph. O. C. 1150 *λόγος δ' ὃς ἐμπέπτωκε . . συμβαλοῦ γνώμην*, 'the tale that has reached my ears, advise me.'

πρὸ χρημάτων may go together, 'part *to save* the wealth,' i. e. part to save the whole; but it is better to take *προ . . βαλών* as tmesis. (Perhaps indeed Enger's *πρὸ μέν τι* is right.)

l. 1015. 'A bounteous gift of plenty from Zeus,' etc. The adjectives accumulated, as often. The connection is abrupt: perhaps *τοι* is corrupt.

l. 1018. Sense: (a labouring boat may be saved, a famine averted,) 'but blood once shed is irrevocable.' The terrible words **τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν**, etc., at once raise the thought of the bloody past of the Pelopidae, of the slaughter of Iphigeneia not yet avenged,—and of the coming vengeance which the chorus suspect and would fain avert.

ll. 1022-24. I have taken Hartung's **ἀπέπαυσεν** as the nearest to the MSS. *αὔτ' ἔπαυσε*, and read it as a question. 'And did not Zeus slay, for a warning, him that was skilled to bring back from the dead?' Zeus killed Asklepios, son of Apollo, the healer, with lightning for bringing the dead to life. But these lines do not correspond to the strophe; and either a line is (as I have marked it) there omitted, or here is something superfluous. If the latter, Hermann's reading *Ζεὺς δὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν ἔπαυσεν* (omitting *αὖτε*, *οὐδέ* and *ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ*) is as likely as any other; but it is perhaps best to leave it.

l. 1025. 'But were it not that one lot by divine decree hinders another from winning overmuch, my heart, outstripping my tongue, had poured out these bodings;' as it is, I brood in secret. I. e. I take refuge in the thought that sometimes fate interferes with fate (and so there may be an unseen counter-fate to check the evil destiny of Agamemnon's house).

l. 1026. **ἐκ θεῶν** with **εἶργε**, really repeating more precisely the notion of **τεταγμένα**. The above is substantially Prof. Goodwin's rendering, and it is the clearest sense proposed for these difficult lines.

l. 1031. 'In grief of soul without a hope to unravel aught profitable 'mid the stirrings of my heart.' **τολυπεύω** is a Homeric metaphor for 'contrive,' 'accomplish,' lit. to 'wind off wool.' The rapid change of metaphor, from 'winding wool,' to 'stirring fire,' is not unlike the poet, see 786.

[ll. 1035-1071. SCENE IV. (first part), *Klytaemnestra comes out and sees Kassandra still seated in the chariot. She speaks to her imperiously.*

'Go within, and take your lot humbly; our royal house will treat you more kindly than others might.' Then, as she gets no answer, she becomes more impatient, and finally departs.]

l. 1036. **ἀμηνίτως**, 'graciously;' with cold scorn Klytaemnestra treats the fate of Kassandra as a favour of the gods.

l. 1037. 'A partner in the lustral bowl;' i. e. a member of the household; for all, even slaves, shared in the household religious rites.

l. 1038. **κτησίου βωμοῦ**, 'the altar of Zeus Ktesios,' or guardian of wealth, which included slaves.

l. 1041. MSS. strangely differ. But perhaps the right reading is Fl. emended thus: **δουλίας μάζης τυχεῖν**, 'the life of slavish fare.' Eng.

l. 1042. **δ' οὖν**, coming to practical conclusion, 'be that as it may,' 'anyhow.' Cf. 676. 'Should this hard lot oppress one,' the opt. generalising the statement by removing it from this case. But the Farn. reading *ἐπιρρέπει* may be right.

l. 1044. **ἤμησαν καλῶς**, 'have reaped good harvest,' i. e. got rich. The general sense is 'old-established wealthy houses are kinder to slaves than *nouveaux riches*.' It suits Klytaemnestra's royal pride to say so: but the remark savours more of democratic Athens, with her commercial wealth, than the heroic times.

l. 1046. MSS. have **ἔχεις**, making poor sense: read **ἕξεις**.

l. 1047. **λέγουσα παύεται**, 'she has spoken.' The chorus can only call Klytaemnestra's speech 'clear,' *σαφῆ*; they feel its cold cruelty.

l. 1048. 'Thou art caught within the toils of fate: obey if thou canst, but perhaps thou wilt not.' (**ἁλοῦσα**, great improvement on MSS. **ἂν οὖσα**; *ἄν* is not wanted in advance, the sentence being only formally conditional.)

πείθοι' ἂν εἰ πείθοιο is the mildest way possible of advising; lit. it is 'thou would'st hearken if thou would'st.' So 1394 *χαίροιτ' ἂν εἰ χαίροιτ'*, 'joy if ye will.' The *ἄν* is carried on to *ἀπειθοίης*; so Soph. O. T. 937 *ἥδοιο μέν, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄν; ἀσχάλλοις δ' ἴσως*. So also Ar. Eq. 1054.

l. 1050. The 'swallow' was a recognised simile in Greek for 'foreign speech;' the non-Hellenic languages they despised, and compared to the twittering of birds. So Ar. Ran. 681, when the poet satirises Kleophon for his foreign birth, he says, 'on his lips screeches *Θρῃκία χελιδών*.' So Av. 1681.

l. 1052. 'My words must reach her mind and so prevail.'

l. 1053. **τὰ λῷστα τῶν παρεστώτων**, 'the best as things are.' The chorus are sympathetic, but see the hopelessness of resistance. They treat Kassandra simply as a dazed captive, too timid to move or speak.

It makes all the more startling the effect of her possessed cries and prophetic visions when she does speak.

l. 1055. MSS. *θυραίαν τήνδ'*, which is no sense. *θυραίαν τῇδε* (D.) is no use, for the constr. *σχολὴ ἐμοὶ τρίβειν θυραίαν*, possible in itself, is impossible if *θυραίαν* comes first. Read **θυραίᾳ τῇδ'**, 'I have no time to loiter here without.' (Some suppose *τήνδε = τήνδε τὴν τριβήν*, after *τρίβειν*: sufficiently improbable.)

l. 1056. **τὰ μὲν .. μῆλα**, article separated from subst., really a usage from Epic poetry, where the article is still a demonstrative or pronoun: 'they, the sheep.' Cp. *τὰ δ' ἐπῴχετο κῆλα θεοῖο* Il. 1. 383, 'they came flying, (the) shafts of the god.' So here, 'they stand already by the central hearth, the sheep ready for the fiery sacrifice.' The 'central hearth' was the altar of the *Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος*, or 'god of the household enclosure,' the representative family deity: *Ζηνὸς ἑρκείου* (Soph. Antig. 487) means 'the family.' Observe the loose local gen. **ἑστίας μεσομφάλου**, vaguely indicating the *region*, again an epic usage, e.g. Il. 9. 219 *ἷζεν τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέροιο*, Od. 1. 23 *ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος*, *ib.* 12. 27 *ἢ ἁλὸς ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς*.

l. 1058. **ἐλπίσασι**, sc. *ἡμῖν*, 'for ne'er we hoped,' etc. There is however something to be said for K.'s reading *ἡμῖν* for *ἤδη*: *ἐλπίσασι* is harsh with no preceding dative.

l. 1061. **σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερί**, 'then show me with barbarous hand instead of voice;' the apparent stupidity of such a suggestion is removed on the stage by Klytaemnestra's meaning gestures. Notice *δέ* superfluous in apodosis: an Epic use.

l. 1064. **κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν**, 'obeys her foolish thoughts.'

l. 1067. 'Foam out her spirit in blood,' splendidly continuing the metaphor (begun in *χαλινόν*) of a wild colt.

l. 1068. 'I will not waste more words and be thus scorned.'

[*She goes out resentfully.*]

l. 1071. **καίνισον ζυγόν**, 'handsel thy yoke,' i.e. 'submit.'

[SCENE IV. (second part), ll. 1072–1177. *Kassandra steps out of the chariot and advances to the front of the stage.*]

In this astonishing scene Aeschylus seems to have touched the limit of what speech can do to excite pity and terror. The cries come forth to Apollo, repeated louder and more wildly as the inspiration grows upon her; she smells the 'rust of murder on the walls' of the bloody house to which she comes a prisoner, and visions rise, first of the past wickedness, then of the present; and lastly she bewails, in songs of 'searching and melting beauty,' her own piteous fate. The chorus sustain the part of the Argive citizen, sympathetic and horror-struck, and finally bewildered and overpowered by her clearer and clearer prophecies of the bloody deeds that are imminent.

l. 1072. 'Woe, woe, alas! O Earth! O Apollo, Apollo!' She is looking no doubt at the god's image.

πόποι is simply an interjection like *παπαῖ*, *τοτοῖ*, etc.; the old scholiastic note which translated it 'gods' is now generally rejected.

δᾶ is Doric form of *γᾶ* or *γῆ*.

l. 1074. **ὀτοτύζω**, like *φεύζω* 1308, *αἰώζω*, *οἰμώζω*, etc., is a verb formed from an interjection.

Λοξίας, name of Apollo, as the 'utterer' of oracles, cf. Eum. 19 *Διὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός*.

l. 1075. 'He is not one to need a mourner' (lit. *to have*). Apollo is the god of light (*φοῖβος*) and joy and healing (*παιάν*), and has nothing to do with groans and laments, which belong to the Chthonian gods, Hades, and the Furies, etc.

l. 1079. **προσήκοντ'** (observe the *personal* construction, like *δίκαιός εἰμι*, see 16), 'it beseems him not to be at hand in lamentation.'

l. 1081. **ἀγυιάτης**, collat. form of *ἀγυιεύς*, 'god of the ways,' a title of Apollo as presiding over the out-door life. There was no doubt a statue in front of the palace, cf. 1072.

ἀπόλλων, 'my destroyer,' see note on 687. Apollo had loved her, and been deceived, and in revenge he made all disbelieve her. See 1203 sqq.

l. 1082. **οὐ μόλις**, lit. 'not scantily,' i.e. 'utterly.'

l. 1084. **δουλίᾳ περ ἐν φρενί**, 'even in a slave's heart,' the strict meaning of *περ*.

l. 1091. Read **κακὰ καὶ ἀρτάνας**, as the Farnese MS. has it (only *καὶ ἀρτ.* for *κἀρτ.*) instead of the nom. as the other MSS. read it; for it is far better to construe *συνίστορα* transitive; it is the *house* which *σύνοιδε*, not the *crimes*; and the nom. of the MSS. is due to not seeing this. For adj. governing acc. see note on line 103. 'Nay, a god-accursed house, that knoweth many a murder of kindred, and many a strangling; a human slaughter-house, a dripping floor.' **αὐτοφόνα**: for *αὐτός*, used in compounds for describing murder of kin, compare Soph. Antig. 56, 1175; Theb. 805; inf. 1573.

'**ῥαντήριος** cannot be passive,' says Paley, objecting to the MS. reading; but it need not be passive; it means 'a dripping' floor, not 'a besprinkled floor.' Perhaps *πέδου ῥαντ*, 'splashing the floor.' (Karst.)

l. 1096. She sees a vision of the children of Thyestes (father of Aegisthos) whom his brother Atreus (father of Agamemnon) served up to him at a banquet. The quarrel is mentioned below (1583).

κλαιόμενα σφαγάς, 'bewailing their own slaughter.'

ll. 1098–9. The MSS. mostly read *ἦμεν* at the beginning of both lines, though M. has *ἤμην* altered to *ἦμεν* in 1098. This will construe: 'Verily we had heard thy prophetic fame, but we seek no

prophets;' which is very dull sense, and very bad sound. I believe with Weil and Enger that ἦμεν has been erroneously repeated, and has ousted τούτων from the second line. The sense is then 'we had heard (ἦμεν πεπυσμένοι) thy prophetic fame; but of these things we seek no prophets;' i.e. it does not require inspiration to tell *past* evils. Kassandra's vision immediately leaps forward to the future. [The corruption in line 1099 is probably assisted by the fact that δέ comes *third* in the sentence: but Aesch. often does this.]

l. 1100. A new vision comes on, of the murder of Agamemnon in his bath, by means of a cloak thrown round him and two blows of a dagger. The murder does not happen till 1343; this is the prophetic foresight.

μήδεται, 'she plots,' Klytaemnestra of course; the audience understand, but not the chorus.

l. 1109. **πῶς φράσω τέλος**; the sentence ought to end with κτενεῖς; but it is broken, and these words substituted.

l. 1111. **ὀρέγματα**, this neat emendation is no doubt right: the acc. is cognate. Lit. 'hand after hand reaches forth a-stretch;' i.e. blow on blow comes. (The MSS. προτείνει ὀρεγομένα will construe 'stretches, reaching forth;' but προτείνει is never intrans.)

l. 1112. The prophecy is clearer; but it has only changed from 'riddles' without a clue (the vision of line 1096) to a 'dim prophecy' with details but no names (the vision of 1100); so they 'do not yet understand.'

l. 1113. **ἐπαργέμοις**, 'dim;' properly of a *white* film *over* (ἐπ'.. ἀργ...) the eye, probably cataract.

l. 1115. 'A net of Death' is a fine name for the cloak which made him helpless. 'But *she* is the snare, who shares his bed, who shares the deed of blood.'

συναιτία, 'sharing the guilt' with the δίκτυον; of Aegisthos there is no thought yet. [Notice the rare hiatus τι Ἅιδου. So Soph. Trach. 1203.]

l. 1117. **στάσις**, some comm. (Schn., Pal., K.) construe 'a troop,' and suppose it to mean the Furies, alleging ποίαν Ἐρινύν as confirmatory. It is true that Aesch. does use στάσις in this sense, but always with something to make it clear, as τῇδε στάσει Cho. 114, στάσις ἁμά ('*our* company') Eum. 311, στάσις πάγκοινος ἅδε Cho. 458. To use στάσις absolutely, without article or defining gen., for the 'band of Furies' would be very harsh.

It is better (with Eng., Kl., D.) to take it as meaning 'Strife' personified; this is quite as Aeschylean a usage (Pr. 200, 1088; Pers. 188, 715, 738; Eum. 977) and the answer ποίαν Ἐρινύν quite as appropriate; indeed, being singular, more so. 'Let Strife, insatiable against the Race, raise cry of triumph o'er the stoning-sacrifice.'

Still an obscure passage. If **λευσίμου** is right, Kassandra must mean: 'Let the people arise and stone the accursed murderers; let that "Strife" which besets the bloodstained family sing triumph over her death.' But if so we must suppose that the prophetess' vision as yet only foresees Agamemnon's death, not Klytaemnestra's, who died by Orestes' hand; this is reserved for a later vision, 1280. (**λεύσιμος** cannot mean '*deserving* stoning,' as Pal., K., etc.)

l. 1120. **φαιδρύνει**, 'cheers.'

l. 1121. A very difficult and corrupt passage. It is best to take Dindorf's καιρία for the varied unintelligibilities of the MSS. Translate: 'To my heart has run the blood-drop saffron-hued (i.e. pale with terror) which at the last hour (lit. *at the time appointed, the mortal moment*) falls and ends with the beams of setting life;' i.e. 'my blood is pale, like a man fainting and failing at the point of death.' The general sense is plain: the chorus are in sudden and deep alarm.

l. 1125. The murder now comes upon her in a vision of unspeakable power and terror. 'Behold, behold! Keep off from his mate the bull! in the robe she has caught him, and smites with the treacherous thrust of her black horn!' lit. 'with blackhorned device.'

l. 1127. **μελαγκέρῳ**, though apparently not the reading of any MS. (for though M. now reads μελαγκέρῳ, the original reading was clearly μελάγκερων in that as in most of the others), is yet plainly right; both the accusative alone and the dative μηχανήματι alone would be very harsh, while μελαγκέρῳ μηχανήματι is thoroughly Aeschylean.

l. 1128. **τεῦχος** and **λέβης**, the 'vessel' and 'cauldron' are varied words for the bath. (MSS. τεύχει will stand in a dochmiac.) **τύπτει** does not answer to φόνου of strophe; and one is possibly corrupt.

l. 1130. The chorus are more and more uneasy; and in their restlessness break out into complaint that prophecy is always terrifying men, and bringing evil. The same complaint was made by Ahab (1 Kings 22. 8), and by Agamemnon of Kalchas (Il. 1. 108).

l. 1133. Hermann alters **στέλλεται** and **θεσπιῳδόν** into τέλλεται and θεσπιῳδοί, both needlessly. στέλλεται, 'is sent forth,' has more meaning than τέλλεται, 'comes:' and the phrase 'by woes the wordy arts bring men prophetic terror to learn' is quite Aeschylean. The scornful phrase for prophecy, **πολυεπεῖς τέχναι**, suits their present resentment born of fear.

l. 1137. **θροῶ** .. **ἐπεγχέασα** is the reading of all the MSS., which is a syllable too much. Herm. reads θροεῖς .. ἐπεγχέας, 'thou speakst of my woe, mingling it with his;' and most edd. follow him. But the difficulty is that the chorus had not alluded to Kassandra. The best correction is **ἐπεγχέαι**, given by Prof. Campbell (which had also oc-

curred independently to me). It is epexegetic infinitive: 'for my own woe I bewail, to mingle it with his.'

l. 1138. **ἤγαγες** (so MSS., no alteration needed), a sudden appeal to Apollo, as in 1087.

l. 1141. **αὑτᾶς** for *σεαυτῆς*, not uncommon in poetry, as e.g. 1297.

l. 1142. **νόμον ἄνομον**, 'a wild tuneless measure.' **ξουθός** is an obscure word, but its commonest application is to the nightingale, as here; and such phrases as *ξουθοὶ ἄνεμοι, ξουθὰ λαλῶν*, seem to point to its meaning 'clear-voiced.'

l. 1145. **Ἴτυς** son of Philomela and Tereus; the mother slew him and served him up to his father, in rage at finding a rival in her sister Prokne. The two sisters then fled from Tereus' wrath, and were changed into birds. Philomela as the nightingale never ceases to lament Itys. (Others change the names Prokne and Philomela, making the former mother of Itys.)

ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς βίον, 'all her life rich only in sorrow;' a beautiful expression. The acc. is best taken as acc. of duration.

l. 1147. **περιβάλον γάρ**, Blomfield's satisfactory correction. 'For the gods set round her a feathery form, and a sweet life, without tears.' The difficulty is, how can the sorrow-laden nightingale be said to have 'a sweet life without tears?' The most ingenious solution is to take (with Eng.) *κλαυμάτων ἄτερ* with *περιβάλον*, 'they changed her without pain, for *me* remains the sharp sword.' And this is at first sight tempting. But the order is strained and really the same difficulty remains with *γλυκύν*. The truth no doubt is this: that the chorus say, 'You are like the nightingale, a ceaseless singer of sad song;' to which beautiful comparison Kassandra replies in effect: 'Yes, but how unlike in fate; her song is plaintive, but she has no real sorrow; she flees on free wings and has nought to mar her sweet life; I am doomed to a cruel death.'

l. 1150. 'Whence hast thou these inspired throes of vain grief, and framest in song these terrors with ill-omened cry, and likewise with loud-voiced measures?' **ὄρθιοι νόμοι** are the sustained lyric songs as opposed to the **δύσφατος κλαγγά** or meaningless cries which accompany them.

l. 1155. 'Whence the bounds of thy prophetic path, boding but ill?' i.e. who guides you on the path of prophecy? The answer to this comes really 1202.

l. 1159. **ἠνυτόμαν τροφαῖς**, 'I throve with nurture.'

l. 1163. MSS. read *νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι*. The sense is plain: 'a new born child could understand;' and doubtless the first syllable of *ἀν-θρώπων* contains the necessary particle **ἄν**. I have taken Karsten's guess in default of better.

l. 1164. **δάκει** for *δήγματι* (H.) to suit antistr.; though, as *δήγματι* makes a proper dochmiac, it may be right.

l. 1165. **θρεομένας**, i.e. *σοῦ*, 'when thou wailest aloud o'er thy bitter woe.' The best emendation is to omit *κακά*, making a complete dochmiac of *μινυρὰ θρεομένας*.

θραύματ' is the best supported reading, lit. 'shatterings' for me to hear; i.e. 'it breaks my heart to hear.' Many adopt *θαύματ'* the reading of Fa., but it seems too weak a word for such a climax, and the other is not too bold for Aeschylus.

l. 1170. 'They brought no cure to save the city from suffering as indeed she suffers.'

ἄκος, a kind of cogn. after *ἐπήρκεσαν*: what is now called 'internal' accusative, lit. 'they aided no cure;' a perfectly natural use.

l. 1172. MSS. *θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδῳ*. H. reads *θερμὸν οὖς τάχ' ἐν πέδῳ*, 'shall lay on the ground a hot ear'! Others try and construe it as it stands 'I thus passionate shall cast myself on the earth' where the adj. is awkward, the sense unsatisfactory, and *βαλῶ* hardly possible. Various other suggestions have been made, but I believe the best is the one which I owe to my friend Mr. T. Miller (writing *θερμήν* for *θερμόν*, see 5 lines below), 'and shall not I let fall a hot drop on the ground.' *στάξ* does not occur for 'a drop,' but *στάγες* does, Ap. Rh. 4. 626, which may very likely therefore be an old word, an earlier form of *σταγών*. Schneid. had already suggested it, only he read *θερμόχουν*. The word is formed straight from the verb-stem, like *ῥάξ* (*ῥαγ-*) and *πτάξ* (*πτακ-*). Mr. Munro, who has discussed this passage [Phil. Journ. xi.], has pointed out that the dictionaries are probably wrong in giving *θερμός* as ever of two terminations: in that case we should read *θερμήν*, which I have accordingly done.

The chorus have expressed sympathy with Cassandra, and surprise and emotion at her wild laments, and she replies: 'Alas for our city's ruin! alas for all the sacrifices of my father! they could not aid the city: she lies low: *and shall not my blood be shed?*' [I formerly took it 'and shall not I *weep*?' and the chorus' remarks on her wailing *μινυρὰ θρεομένας*, 1165, and *μελίζειν πάθη γοερά*, 1176, make this at least possible: but I rather incline to Mr. Munro's view that 'shall not I *die*?' makes better sense on the whole.]

l. 1175. **τίθησι μελίζειν**, 'moves thee to sing,' 'makes thee to sing,' thy piteous deadly woes.

[ll. 1178–1330. SCENE IV. (third part). Kassandra's fit of wild visions is past, and she speaks of the past more calmly (1178–1200); then tells the chorus of how Apollo's wrath fell on her (1198–1214); then rising with new inspiration darkly and terribly announces the murder of the king (1215–1255). Next follows a marvellous speech, in

which she foresees her own death, and strips off her crown; and prophesies the vengeance of Orestes (1256–1294). She then goes sadly into the house of blood.]

l. 1178. **καὶ μήν**, 'and now;' a new mood and resolve have come. Observe how richly and boldly the metaphors and similes come; a bride, a strong wind, a hound, a chorus, a revel-rout.

l. 1180. 'But clear and fresh it shall rush blowing toward the sunrise, to dash wave-like to the light a woe far greater than mine.' **λαμπρός** is hard to render; the Greeks called a *strong* wind 'bright;' so here in any other language two words are required, one to be antithesis to *ἐκ καλυμμάτων*, the other to suit the new metaphor of wind. Cp. *λαμπρὸς καὶ μέγας καθιείς* Ar. Eq. 430 *λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος* Hdt. 2. 96.

l. 1184. **συνδρόμως** best with *ῥινηλατούσῃ*, 'close following I scent out the trail.'

l. 1187. **σύμφθογγος οὐκ εὔφωνος**, 'of harshest harmony,' an oxymoron suggested by *χορός*; she means the Furies. **οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει**, a meiosis, 'for its words are not well.'

l. 1188. **καὶ μήν**, graphic, she sees it almost; 'and lo!' (**ὡς** for *ὥστε*).

l. 1190. 'A revel-rout of sister Furies, that none can cast out!' Another bold metaphor.

l. 1192. 'The primal curse' is the first blood-shedding of the bloody race; see Introduction, p. xii.

l. 1193. **δυσμενεῖς** can be nom. or acc., but it is better nom., being (as Eng. and Schn. observe) a grim allusion to their name *εὐμενίδες*. 'And in turn they loathe the brother's bed (Thyestes' adultery with Aerope), pitiless to him who defiled it.'

l. 1195. 'A babbler, knocking at doors,' a vivid vernacular phrase for 'a lying impostor' such as she was considered, she tells us.

l. 1197. H. reads *τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι λόγῳ*, 'that not by hearsay do I know;' i.e. 'that I know well.' So Pal., K., and others. And Prof. Goodwin points out that Ven. has this reading. But the words cannot mean that, without any pronoun to mark the change of subject; as they stand they must mean 'swear that *you* do not know.' It is better to fall back on the best supported reading **τὸ μ' εἰδέναι**, and take *λόγῳ παλαιάς* together (so D., Well.); the rhythm is also in favour of it: 'bear witness to me with an oath, that I know the sins of this house, old in story.' It really is nothing against this int. that *λόγῳ παλαιά* occurs in Soph. O. T. (1395), where they do *not* go together.

l. 1198. 'And how could the noble compact of an oath become a cure?' i.e. what good would an oath do? I read **παιώνιος** as one MS. has it, but it is quite possible the poet wrote *ὅρκου πῆγμα*, as Auratus suggested, and then of course *παιώνιον* would be required.

l. 1201. **κυρεῖν λέγουσαν**, 'tell aright of.' So *λέγων κυρήσαις* Supp. 587: and *τυγχάνω* 1232.

l. 1205. **ἁβρύνεται**, 'grows over nice.' *Swan.*

l. 1206. **παλαιστής**, 'a suitor,' lit. 'a wrestler;' one of Aesch.'s picturesque and bold words.

l. 1207. 'Came ye to rite of union in due course?' [*νόμῳ* is however odd: perhaps *γάμῳ*, Schöm. or *ὁμοῦ*, Butl.]

l. 1211. **ἄνατος**, certain emendation of Canter for the natural MS. corruption *ἄνακτος*. **κότῳ** (instead of the more usual gen. after such adj.), to avoid the awkward sound of two genitives together.

l. 1212. **ὡς**, 'since,' 'after that.'

l. 1214. **γε μὲν δή**, 661.

l. 1215. The frenzy comes upon her again 'whirling and distracting' (*στροβεῖ ταράσσων*), as she says.

l. 1216. The MSS. read *ἐφημένους* at the end, which has clearly come from the next line, displacing the word, which is therefore irrecoverable. Hermann's **δυσφροιμίοις** is very ingenious, as it supplies a reason for the gap (filled with *ἐφημένους*), viz. that *δυσφροιμίοις* was lost through resemblance to *φροιμίοις*. But it remains a conjecture.

l. 1217. The vision of Thyestes' children rises again.

l. 1219. **ὥσπερεί** with the whole sentence, 'Children they seem, slaughtered by their own kin.'

l. 1222. **πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες**, 'I see them hold;' compare, for this use of *πρέπω*, 241, 389.

l. 1224. The 'recreant lion wallowing in the couch' is of course Aegisthos. She calls him below 'a wolf,' 1259.

l. 1225. 'Guarding the house, ah, me! for my lord returned;' the **δεσπότῃ** is dative after *οἰκουρόν*, as the order requires; and the force consists in the irony of the word *οἰκουρός*, which also prompts the cry *οἴμοι*. Aegisthos 'watched the house,' strangely indeed; dishonouring the queen and plotting with her the murder of the king.

l. 1226. **φέρειν γάρ**, etc. is suggested by *δεσπότῃ ἐμῷ*.

l. 1228. 'Knows not what things the tongue of the vile she-hound, with long-drawn smiling welcome . . . shall accomplish by evil fate.' This is the best sense that can be made out of the MSS. reading; but **οἷα** is a long way off from its verb, and **φαιδρόνους** is a very strange adjective, and the use of adj. for adv. is harsh with **ἐκτείνασα**: and we can scarcely resist the conviction that the text is corrupt. On the whole the corrections adopted are the most probable, and they certainly make an ingenious reconstruction:

οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς
λείξασα κἀκτείνασα φαιδρὸν οὖς, δίκην
Ἄτης λαθραίου, δήξεται κακῇ τύχῃ,

. . . 'knows not what a tongue of the vile she-hound has licked (his hand) and stretched out a joyful ear, and now like a stealthy curse shall bite him by evil chance.' The violent stretches of language making the tongue (instead of the dog) stretch out a joyful ear and bite, are hardly too strong for Aeschylus. Still they are strong, and *δήξεται* for *τεύξεται* is a considerable alteration; so I have not ventured to put this last word into the text. [See Appendix III.]

l. 1231. MSS. give *τοιάδε τολμᾷ* or *τοιαῦτα*. The reading in the text is the best, as all others leave *θῆλυς* unconnected.

l. 1232. Observe the weak **ἔστιν** in strong place. See on 14. **καλοῦσα τύχοιμ' ἄν**, 'call aright;' cp. 1201.

l. 1233. **ἀμφίσβαιναν**, 'a dragon,' or 'basilisk;' it is a fabulous monster that goes either way, perhaps like Sir John Mandeville's snakes with a head at each end.

l. 1235. 'Raging Dam of Death,' a bold imaginative name which it suits the frenzied mood of Kassandra to use. **θύω** is an Epic word, *φρεσὶ θύει* Il. I. 342, *ἔγχεϊ θύει ib.* II. 180. For **Ἄρη** MSS. read *ἀράν*: but *ἄσπονδος* almost requires *Ἄρης*, 'implacable war.' Perhaps Aesch. used the other form *Ἄρην*, which would readily account for the error. *Ἄρης* again 1511, in the sense of family strife.

l. 1236. 'And how she raised a cry of triumph, the murderess, as in the battle's rout, though seeming to rejoice at his safe return.' This clearly refers to her exaggerated and insincere welcome 896 sqq. **δοκεῖ** is present, because it means 'they think,' 'the people think;' the impression was still there.

l. 1239. **ὅμοιον**, 'I care not' (lit. 'it is the same,' *es ist gleich*).

l. 1243. **ξυνῆκα**, 'I understood,' it was past a few moments ago. **πέφρικα**, 'I shudder,' the horror still present.

l. 1244. **ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξῃκασμένα**, 'no image but the very truth.'

l. 1245. **ἐκ δρόμου πεσὼν τρέχω**, 'I run out of the track;' i.e. 'I am astray,' as we say. The racecourse supplies the most frequent metaphors in Greek. So of madness, Pr. 883 *ἔξω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης πνεύματι*: and like this, Cho. 1022 *ὥσπερ σὺν ἵπποις ἡνιοστροφῶ δρόμου ἐξωτέρω*.

l. 1247. 'Peace, wretched woman, from such impious words;' lit. 'lull thy mouth to be well omened,' **εὔφημον** being proleptic. But as silence is the safest way of avoiding ill-omened speech, *εὐφήμει* practically comes to mean 'be silent,' e.g. Ar. Ach. 237; Ran. 352. So *favete linguis* in Latin.

l. 1248. 'There is no god of healing for this tidings;' *εὐφημία* might help, as long as there was hope of divine aid to avert ill; this case is hopeless.

l. 1249. **εἴπερ ἔσται γ'**, 'if it is to be;' (*πάρεσται* the MS. reading can hardly mean this. The correction is due to Schütz.)

l. 1251. 'Is this woe brought to pass?' **ἄχος** is quite possible, though *ἄγος* (Aurat.) is not unlikely.

l. 1252. MSS. give *ἦ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπης* (with -*ει* written over). Most edd. read *παρεσκόπεις*, and many alter *ἄν* to *αὖ*; Pal., K., rightly retain *ἄν* and construe, 'You must have missed the purport of my oracles.' This makes good sense, and may be right. Compare *ηὔξω ἄν* 933. Hartung however suggests *ἦ κάρτα τἄρα παρεκόπης*, 'Surely thou wentest astray from my oracles.' The emendation is very ingenious, being so near the MSS. (TATAP for TAP), and I have adopted it, merely keeping *ἄν*, which improves the sense. 'Surely thou must have gone far astray from my oracles,' **παρακόπτεσθαι** meaning 'to be deluded;' lit. 'to be knocked aside from.'

l. 1253. MSS. give *τοῦ γὰρ τελοῦντος*: but as the point is, 'I do not understand *who* is the murderer,' I read **τοὺς . . . τελοῦντας.**

l. 1254. **καὶ μήν**, 'and yet,' as often, e. g. Prom. 981; Soph. Antig. 1054; Eur. Alc. 653. The sense is, 'And yet I know the Greek tongue all too well.' The answer in effect is, 'The oracles are also Greek, but not the easier to understand.'

l. 1256. Kassandra has another seizure of the prophetic fire. Observe **οἶον** short. See 1001.

l. 1260. It is best to follow the MSS. here, as Hermann does, only reading **ἐνθήσειν** with Fa. instead of *ἐνθήσει*, clearly altered to suit *κτενεῖ*. **κότῳ** is a bold metaphor, but there is no need to alter it (with Casaub., D., Eng., etc.) to *ποτῷ*. 'And like one brewing a drug, she boasts that my recompence too she will mix in her vengeance, whetting her sword against her lord, to pay back blood for that he hath brought me hither.'

l. 1263. **ἀντιτίσασθαι**, consec. or epexegetic inf. 'so as to.'

l. 1267. Hermann's emendation **ἐγὼ δ' ἅμ' ἕψομαι**, 'and I shall follow soon,' makes good sense: but the correction in the text makes even better, and is nearer the MSS. (ΟΝΤΑΓΑΘΩ for ΟΝΤΑΘΩ), 'Go to destruction: and as ye fall, thus will I avenge myself on you' (*as she speaks she throws down the staff and wreath and tramples on them*). This correction is given by Mr. A. W. Verrall, in his Medea, 1881. [Appendix IV.]

l. 1268. 'Enrich another with woe instead of me,' a forcible oxymoron. (So reading **ἄτης** (Stanl.) for *ἄτην*, 'another curse,' not a very appropriate expression.)

l. 1270. The MSS. reading can be construed, if with H., Eng., Schn., etc., we read *μέγα* for *μετά*, thus: 'and having looked down on me, even in these robes scouted utterly, by friends turned foes, consenting, yet in error:—[then the parenthesis describing *how* they mocked her]—and now the seer having ruined me, the prophetess has brought me,' etc. We find *μετὰ* for *μέγα* also in MSS. Choeph. 37.

φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, by her people, who ought to have been friends, but scorned her; in the old days before the capture.

οὐ διχορρόπως μάτην, they all agreed to scout her, and they were all wrong. After the parenthesis the sense is taken up again, and the deferred verb *ἀπήγαγεν* at last comes. The above is substantially Enger's int. and it is the best that can be got without more alteration.

l. 1273. 'And like a wandering cheat I bore hard names, beggar, and wretch, and starveling.' Others include *φοιτάς* among the nicknames; but the line does not run so well.

l. 1275. **ἐκπράξας**, 'having destroyed, ruined.' Like *κεραυνὸς ἐξέπραξε* Soph. O. C. 1659, *πῶς καί νιν ἐξεπράξατ'*; Eur. Hec. 515. [The other sense given, 'having made me,' is weaker.]

l. 1277. **ἐπίξηνον**, 'a block' for beheading. So in Ar. Ach. 318.

l. 1278. **κοπείσης**, 'when I am struck.' The gen. abs. is always possible, and there is no need for *κοπείσῃ* or *κοπεῖσαν*. (Schütz's *θερμόν* is neat, and may be right: or Haupt's *φοίνιον*.)

l. 1279. **οὐ μὴν .. γε** (like *οὐ μέντοι .. γε*), 'not however;' Soph. O.T. 810 *οὐ μὴν ἴσην γ' ἔτισεν*. **τεθνήξομεν**, fut. formed from *τέθνηκα*, like *ἑστήξω*, 'not unregarded shall I be in death.'

l. 1283. **κάτεισιν**, in its strict sense, 'shall come back' from exile.

l. 1284. Restored by Hermann to its right place, from being after 1290, where it made no sense.

l. 1285. MSS. read *ἄξειν*, 'that his sire's corse shall bring him,' very harsh: I take **πράξειν**, 'that he shall exact vengeance for.'

l. 1288. **πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν**, 'faring as it fared,' a euphemism. So Soph. O. T. 1376 *βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἔβλαστε*, Eur. Hec. 873 *πάσχοντος οἷα πείσεται*.

I take **εἷλον**, Musgrave's correction. *εἶχον* would mean the Trojans ('who *were holding*'). *ἔσχον* might do, but *εἷλον* is nearer.

l. 1289. **οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσι**, 'come to such an end.'

l. 1290. **ἰοῦσα πράξω**, 'I shall go to my fate;' *πράσσειν* seems to mean 'to do what lies before you,' to 'meet what is in store;' not an impossible meaning, but very doubtful. Perhaps *κἀγὼ* (Heath).

l. 1292. **καιρία**, 'mortal,' lit. 'reaching the right place.'

l. 1297. **αὐτῆς** for *σεαυτῆς*, as often in Trag., Agam. 1141; Eur. Alc. 461; Soph. O. C. 930; and for *ἐμαυτ. ib.* O.T. 138.

l. 1300. 'Yet last is first in respect of time,' i. e. 'to be last is to be best off in time,' 'to lose time is to gain time,' as we might say with a similar epigram.

ll. 1302–4. Taking these lines as they are read in MSS., the sense is—

Cho. Yet know that thou art patient with a brave heart (**τλήμων**, 'enduring').

Ka. None that is happy is thus spoken of.

Cho. But yet an honourable death is sweet!

The chorus are compassionate and consoling; Kassandra is resigned but gloomy. The sense is good, and Pal., Con., K., Dav. seem right in keeping it. On the other hand H., following Heath, has inverted the order of the last two lines, and the German edd. have generally followed suit. It makes a good, but quite different sense:—

Cho. Yet know that bravery brings thee **to misery** (**τλήμων**, 'miserable').

Ka. But yet an honourable death is sweet.

Cho. None that is happy hears such consolation!

But on the whole this is less likely; *ἀκούει ταῦτα* is much less appropriate; *εὐκλεῶς κατθανεῖν* is not what Kass. is thinking of; and her attitude is all through more a *miserable* than a *courageous* one.

l. 1305. **εὐκλεῶς κατθανεῖν** reminds her of her kindred, slain before Troy; and a new burst of grief overpowers her.

[*She advances to enter the palace; at the door she starts and stops short, as though a new horror had struck her.*]

l. 1308. **ἔφευξας**, from *φεύζω*.

l. 1310. **τόδ' ὄζει**, 'this scent comes from,' 'this is the scent of.' *τόδε*, acc. pron. in apposition to the sentence; literally, 'it smells *this*,' like *ἡδὺ ὄζει*, 'it smells *sweet*.'

l. 1312. 'No Syrian perfume for the house is this,' **ἀγλάϊσμα**, lit. 'splendour,' 'luxury.'

l. 1316. **δυσοίζω**, 'I shrink from;' properly, 'I am uneasy at.'

l. 1317. **ἄλλως**, 'for nought;' my fear is not vain. A necessary correction for the meaningless *ἀλλ' ὡς* of the MSS.

'Bear witness of this [that my fear is not vain; that I have prophesied truly] to me after my death, when a woman dies for me a woman, and a man falls for this man with evil wife' (*δυσδάμαρτος* gen. of *δυσδάμαρ*). Prophet-fashion she confirms her prophecy with another. The woman is of course Klytaemnestra; the man Aegisthos.

l. 1320. **ξενόω**, 'to treat as *ξένος*:' **ἐπιξενοῦμαι** (middle) 'to claim a friendly service,' lit. 'to call in a friend to yourself for a thing.' The word is usually passive, 'to be friendly entreated.'

l. 1322. **οὐ θρῆνον** (Hermann's correction) is a quiet and dignified rejection of the chorus' pity; see 1330. [The line is however perhaps corrupt: *ῥῆσιν* is an unlikely word.]

l. 1323. Read **ἡλίου** with Karsten; the dat. has come from the proximity of *ἐπεύχομαι*, but with *πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς*, and the succeeding datives, is unlikely.

l. 1324. An obscure and probably corrupt passage. Taking the words as they stand, we can give two possible meanings, owing to the intrinsic ambiguity of **τίνω**; for the murderer *τίνει δίκην* when he is

slain, 'pays the penalty;' and also the avenger *τίνει δίκην*, 'pays back justice' to the guilty. So it may mean (1) 'I pray for my avengers to requite my hateful murderers.' (2) 'For my hateful murderers to pay the penalty to my avengers.' The order is in favour of (1); the commoner use of *τίνω* in favour of (2). But the passage for many reasons must be regarded as corrupt. **τοῖς ἐμοῖς** is needlessly repeated; the datives are very clumsy; *τίνειν* wants an object; and Kassandra could hardly speak of *her* avengers, *her* murderers only. Her real drift seems to be, 'I pray that the avengers (of Agamemnon) may requite the murderers at the same time (*ὁμοῦ*) for *my* death.' Perhaps it should be: *τοὺς ἐμοὺς τιμαόρους* (Karst.) *δίκην φ.* (Gilbert).

l. 1326. **εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος**, 'an easy prey.'

l. 1328. I take Conington's correction **σκιᾷ τις ἂν πρέψειεν**, 'one might liken them to a sketch.' (Photius says Aesch. used *πρέψαι* for *ὁμοιῶσαι*). *σκιά*, 'an outline,' cf. *σκιαγραφεῖν*. [Others take *σκιά*, 'they might seem a sketch;' but *τις* and the aorist are rather in favour of the former.] **εἰ δὲ δυστυχῇ**, Epic. subj. with *εἰ*.

l. 1329. 'The touch of the wet sponge blots out the drawing.' **ὤλεσεν**, gnomic aor.

l. 1330. This line is explained by *οὐ θρῆνον εἰπεῖν θέλω* (1322) and the chorus' pity (1321). Kassandra gives a wonderfully imaginative and pathetic sketch of human fortunes; then adds, 'this I count far more pitiable than that' (which you pity); the general sadness is sadder than one hapless lot.

[*She goes in sadly to her death.*]

[ll. 1331–42. This short chorus fills the interval while Kassandra is going in, till the blows are struck. The drift is, 'All men desire joy without end; even princes never have enough: now if Agamemnon after all his triumph is to die, who can ever hope to be scatheless?']

l. 1332. **δακτυλοδείκτων**, 'envied,' i.e. wealthy, royal. Cf. Horace's *Monstrari digito*.

l. 1333. **εἴργει**, keeps *it* off, i.e. *τὸ εὖ πράσσειν*, prosperity.

l. 1334. Perhaps, in view of Cho. 313, *τάδε* is better taken with *φωνῶν*.

l. 1339. 'And dying for the dead brings to pass requital for other deaths,' i.e. he (Ag.) slain to atone for the slain (Iphig.) causes a new requital in the deaths of others (Klyt. and Aegisth.). Others take *θανάτων* to mean those whom Ag. has slain, i.e. the same as *θανοῦσι*. But the first rendering is much better sense; the chorus are saddened by Kassandra's prophecy (1280 and 1325) of yet other deaths to follow. [I have given aor. subj. for fut. in both verbs: *ἐπικρᾰνεῖ* is unmetrical.]

l. 1341. 'Who could boast to be born with scatheless fate?'

[Scene V. (1343–1447).

The dying cry of Agamemnon is heard within once and again: the

chorus take counsel in helpless embarrassment: the door of the palace then opens (1371) *and the queen is seen with bloody axe standing over the murdered bodies. She glories in the deed and scouts all warnings or threats of the chorus.*]

l. 1343. **ἔσω**, 'within me,' offers no difficulty though K. suspects it.

l. 1344. The chorus become a helpless and hesitating mob of elders, each giving his own opinion. For this interlude see Introd., p. xii.

l. 1347. **ἀλλὰ κοινωσώμεθ' ἥν πως ἀσφαλῆ βουλεύματ' ᾖ** is the best correction. (Weil and Goodwin read *ἤν* for *ἄν*: Enger adds *ᾖ*.) Hermann's *ἄν πως* is unlikely; *πως* suggests *ἤν*. 'But let us confer, if perchance we can find safe counsel.'

l. 1349. **κηρύσσειν βοήν**, 'to proclaim the call,' i.e. to summon to rescue or fight. The *βοή* was the 'cry' for help. Cf. *εἰ βραδύνοιμεν βοῇ* Supp. 730; *καὶ εἴποι λαοῖσι βοὴ δ' ὤκιστα γένοιτο* Od. 22. 133; the common Homeric *βοὴν ἀγαθός* means 'good at calling on' the men to fight.

l. 1351. **νεορρύτῳ** (*υ* short, from *ῥέω*, 'new-flowing,' not *ῥύω*, 'new-drawn'), 'while the sword yet drips,' i.e. *flagrante delicto*.

l. 1355. **πράσσοντες**, 'devising,' 'preparing.' The sentiment is a curious anachronism. The Argive elders talk of 'tyranny' as if they were members of a free Greek republic.

l. 1356. 'Spurning the credit of delay,' not caring to be deliberate in action. Observe the sententious incompetence of these elders.

l. 1359. ''Tis the doer's part also to counsel about (the deed).' Apparently an attempt to shuffle off responsibility. 'I had no part in the act, and why should I be troubled to advise?'

l. 1362. 'What, to prolong our lives, shall we yield to the sway of these defilers of the house?' **βίον τείνοντες**, 'in trying to lengthen our lives.' **ἡγουμένοις**, predicate, 'as rulers.'

l. 1365. 'For 'tis a milder lot than tyranny.'

l. 1367. 'Shall we divine the man has perished?' The gen. is the Epic gen. of *intelligence about a person*: one form of the gen. of reference. Compare *ὡς γνῷ χωομένοιο* Il. 4. 357, *εἰ δέ κε τεθνηῶτος ἀκούσω* Od. 2. 220.

l. 1368. Emphasis on **εἰδότας**; knowledge should come before anger.

l. 1370. **παντόθεν πληθύνομαι.** Lit. 'I am multiplied from all sides:' i.e. 'from all sides I find support' to approve this vote. Somewhat similar, though less strained, is the use Suppl. 604 *δήμου κρατοῦσα χεὶρ ὅπῃ πληθύνεται*, 'which way the decisive show of hands prevails.' [L. S. are unsatisfactory on this word.]

l. 1371. Observe the attraction **κυροῦνθ' ὅπως** for *ὅπως κυρεῖ*; the natural construction of *εἰδέναι* being with a participle.

l. 1372. [*Here the doors are rolled open by the* **ἐκκύκλημα**.] For the *ἐκκύκλημα*, or machine for showing the interior, see Appendix VII.

καιρίως, 'to serve the time.'

l. 1375. MSS. *πημονὴν ἀρκύστατον*, which Paley retains, might mean 'a snare-set woe,' i. e. destruction by snares; and we have *ἀρκυστάταν* (? *-ον*) *μηχανάν* Eur. Or. 1420, used as adj. But this would require us to explain the optat. as remote deliberative, see 620 and appendix; and further *ἀρκύστατα* is used as subst. Pers. 98; Eum. 112; Soph. El. 1426; therefore it seems better to follow Hermann and read **πημονῆς ἀρκύστατ' ἄν**. This would easily become *πημονῆς ἀρκυστάταν*, then *πημονήν*, then *ἀρκύστατον*. 'For how (else) could one, devising ill for foes who seem friends, fence the snares of woe too high to leap over?' i. e. how else than by deceit? *ὕψος* is a kind of cognate acc. *describing* the *result* of action (internal acc.).

l. 1378. **νείκης** (necessary correction for *νίκης*, meaningless) **παλαιᾶς ἀγών**, 'this struggle of an ancient feud;' the feud was old; the *ἀγών* or crisis was just come. **σὺν χρόνῳ γε μήν**, 'though long delayed.' **γε** *μήν*, 661. Literally, 'in course of time however.'

l. 1381. **ὡς** for *ὥστε*. 'So that he could neither flee,' etc.

l. 1383. **πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν**, 'fatal splendour of garb;' it was a large fine-wrought robe.

l. 1385. **μεθῆκεν αὑτοῦ κῶλα**, 'relaxed at once his limbs;' *αὐτοῦ*, 'on the spot.' This is the most natural way of taking it. (Others *αὑτοῦ*; weaker. Others *μεθῆκεν*, intrans., possible.)

l. 1387. 'A votive gift to Hades Saviour of the dead,' a grim and ghastly piece of irony; 'just as the third libation is paid to **Ζεὺς Σωτήρ** (see note on 245) so I paid a third *stab* to Hades, **Σωτήρ** of the dead!' Enger reads **Διός**, which would improve *τοῦ κατὰ χθονός*, rather needless with **Αΐδου**; improve the irony; and is probable, as it would be easily supplanted by the gloss **Αΐδου**. But it is safer to follow the MSS.

l. 1388. **ὁρμαίνει**, lit. 'speeds forth,' i. e. 'gasps out his life.' H. reads *ὀρυγάνει*, 'belches out,' which would do, but is not necessary: the root-meaning of *ὁρμαίνω* is 'quick movement.' So Pindar has *θυμὸς ὥρμαινέ νιν* Ol. 3. 145; and Aesch. uses it intrans. Theb. 324 of a horse.

l. 1389. **αἵματος σφαγήν**, a bold stretch of language; we should say 'his life-blood' by an opposite metaphor.

l. 1390. 'Smites me with black splash of the murderous dew,' a fine unsparing phrase.

l. 1392. 'Rejoicing no less than doth in heaven's sweet rain the corn-land at the birthpang of the buds.' Splendid lines, restored by Porson's insight from desperate corruption. For the return to nom. *σπορητός*, compare *πόλιν δημοκρατουμένην ὥσπερ καὶ* **αὐτοί** Thuc. 5. 44.

l. 1394. **χαίροιτ' ἂν εἰ χαίροιτ'**, 'joy if ye can,' see 1049 note.

l. 1395. **εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων**, 'had it been a fitting thing,' for *τῶν πρεπόντων*, as above, 324. Perhaps however *πρέπον τόδ'* (Karst.) is right.

l. 1396. **μὲν οὖν**, corrective as usual, 'nay more than just.'

l. 1397. The comparison must not be pressed too far; it suffices for Klytaemnestra's grim irony, and is powerfully expressive of her horrible cold-blooded triumphant mood. 'Had it been fitting,' she says (what a time to talk of decorum!), 'to pour libations over the corpse, over him it had been just—nay more than just.' (Here one begins to see that the libation is metaphorical, in some bitter sense; then out it comes.) 'So full of curses did he fill his bowl in his house, then comes and drinks it to the dregs himself!' i. e. a libation would suit this reveller: he drank deep—*of curses*! **κακῶν ἀραίων** certainly go together; 'ills accursed,' 'ills curse-bringing.' [I have preferred to read **τοσόνδε** Blomf.]

ll. 1403–6. The relentless gloating of Kl. over her deed is very finely given by these bare and bald details. **ὅμοιον**, 1239.

l. 1407. Observe the skill with which the chorus take to the lyric dochmiacs, when the tragedy is beyond the common speech of iambics. The general sense is, 'what drug hast thou eaten or drunk from land or sea, that thus thou hast brought on thy head the curse of the people? Thou hast slain, and shalt be outcast.'

l. 1408. **πᾰσαμένα** from *πατέομαι*, 'to taste' (not *πᾱσαμένα* from *πάομαι*, 'to acquire').

l. 1409. **τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος**, 'hast thou brought upon thyself this sacrifice?'

θύος is a euphemism for the murder. (Pal. and others construe 'incense,' explaining it to mean 'the wrath' of the people; but this is farfetched, and the common sense of *θύος* in Epic and Aesch. is 'sacrifice.')

l. 1410. The emphasis is on the oft-repeated preposition: 'away thou hast hurled, away thou hast cleft, and away thou shalt be cast.'

l. 1414. 'Though formerly thou didst not withstand him at all;' in the days of old when *his* crime was done.

τότε is better than MS. *τόδ'*.

l. 1415. 'Who caring not, as 'twere a beast that died.' **μόρον** is governed however by *προτιμῶν*.

l. 1417. 'His own daughter, sweetest pain of travailing to me;' the apposition of *ὠδῖνα* to *παῖδα* is a fine stretch of language.

l. 1420. **ἐπήκοος**, equivalent to a partic. 'when thou hearest.'

l. 1421. There is no occasion to alter the MSS. reading: 'I bid thee threaten and welcome, for I am prepared that likewise, if thou conquer me by force, thou shalt rule.' She shows the same contemptuous force as ever, 'I scorn your threats; let us try conclusions, and let the strongest win.' The construction of the acc. inf. after *παρεσκευασμένης* is not

unnatural considering the freedom of poetry and the great flexibility of Greek. [Perhaps however παρεσκευασμένον (Madv.) is right.]

l. 1425. 'I'll teach thee to know, though late, the ways of prudence.' **γνώσει**, naturally often used in threats, Soph. Ant. 779, O. C. 852, and *infra*, 1619.

l. 1426. Rather a difficult passage: the MS. is corrupt in 1428; and the proper stopping is doubtful. It seems to make the best sense with the least alteration if we read ἐμπρέπει, ἀτίετον for εὖ πρέπει ἀτίετον, the reading of Fa.: 'High is thy spirit, and haughty thy word, as indeed thy mind is frenzied by the deed of blood; the blood-stain over thine eyes is plain to see: [but yet] one day dishonoured, reft of friends, thou shalt pay for blow with blow!' [Others read ἐμπρέπειν (Pal., H., K.) after ἔλακες, 'thou didst boast that the stain,' etc., referring to 1390. But περίφρονα refers to her whole attitude, not to one phrase thirty-five lines back. Others read ἄτιτον with what precedes, 'a blood-stain unavenged.']

l. 1431. **θέμις**, properly (from θε-) 'ordinance,' 'that which is laid down,' 'law;' used here in a strained sense to mean something like 'sanctity,' or 'solemnity.' Construe, 'This too thou hearest, this my solemn oath.'

l. 1434. The MS. reading here means, 'Hope doth not tread for me the halls of Fear.' A fine picturesque phrase, surely not too imaginative or metaphorical for Aeschylus. She means, 'My hope does not approach fear,' 'my confidence is dashed with no misgivings.'

[Others construe, 'Expectation of fear does not tread my halls,' a much poorer sense. Others read ἐμπατεῖν, 'I have no expectation that fear (φόβον) will tread my halls,' or 'to tread the halls of fear' (φόβου). None are as fine as the MS. reading, in the sense given above.]

l. 1435. Observe the lavish imagery: Aegisthos is 'a fire' and 'a shield.'

l. 1439. 'Minion of each Chryseis before Troy.' *Chryseis*, daughter of the priest Chryses: the Iliad opens with her as Agamemnon's slave and concubine. This use of the plural is natural in all languages. So Plat. Theaet. 169 B οἱ Θησέες τε καὶ Ἡρακλέες.

l. 1442. **ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων ἰσοτριβής**, 'sharing alike with him the mariners' bench.' Quite good sense, and not requiring the further change of ναυτίλοις, which some edd. give.

l. 1443. **ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην**, 'ay, they deserved their fate.'

l. 1446. **φιλήτωρ τῷδ'**, 'dear to his heart.' φιλήτωρ, not verbal from φιλέω, which would be a masculine word, but from φίλος-ἦτορ, adj. Hence we must change MS. τοῦδ' to τῷδ', with H. τοῦδε has easily come from misunderstanding the form φιλήτωρ.

l. 1447. 'And to me has brought a new delight for my luxurious couch.' Lit. 'a new couch-relish of my luxury.' She means she has

added to her lawless love the new delight of a doubly satisfied jealousy and vengeance. But the genitives are doubtless awkward and may be corrupt, and one is tempted to take Schöm.'s ἐμῇ .. εὐνῇ.

[ll. 1449–1576. *Kommos, or lamentation, with answers from the stage.*

Chorus. (1449–61). 'Oh for some speedy and painless death! Oh fatal Helena!'

Klyt. (1461–67). 'Pray not for death nor blame Helena for all!'

Chor. (1468–74). 'Oh fate so hard on our house! oh fatal women!'

Klyt. (1475–80). 'You are right to call on our Fate: he is the source of bloodshed.'

Chor. (1481–96). 'A grievous fate, from Zeus the almighty. Oh king how bewail thee, slain by evil craft?'

Klyt. (1497–1504). 'I am not Klytaemnestra, but the Race-Avenger in woman's shape.'

Chor. (1505–20). 'Say not you are innocent: perhaps the Avenger is your helper.'

Klyt. (1521–29). 'He too was guilty: he slew Iphigeneia.'

Chor. (1530–50). 'I am bewildered amid this bloodshed. Oh that I had died first! Who will bury him? wilt thou, the murderess?'

Klyt. (1551–59). 'I will bury him: and his daughter dear shall meet him as he crosses the dark river, and welcome him.'

Chor. (1560–66). 'Another reviling! It is hard to see clear: the spoiler is spoiled: 'tis the gods' will.'

Klyt. (1567–78). 'Henceforth I will make truce with the family Fate: he shall go and plague others: I shall be at peace: I want but little.']

l. 1450. **φέρουσ' ἐν ἡμῖν**, 'bringing amongst us:' the use of ἐν (and other preps. which take dat. see 357) with verb of motion is Epic. Cf. ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὀρούσας Il. 22. 182: so προτὶ οἷ εἷλε, 'took her to him,' *ib.* 507. Hence we need not change to ἐφ' with H.

l. 1451. **δαμέντος**, 'laid low;' Epic word for 'slain.'

l. 1453. The simplest and best emendation is to read Epic **πολέα** for πολλά with Haupt, omitting καί here and μοι 1472; 'having borne much through a woman.' καί is not wanted: if put directly the sentence would be ἐδάμη .. τλάς.

l. 1456. Observe the effect of **τάς**, 'who alone didst bring to death so many, so exceeding many lives.'

ll. 1458–61 are very corrupt and obscure. They are generally taken, after Hermann, to be parallel with 1537–50, a supposition very probable; but if so there are $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines of anapaests lost, and the three lyric lines correspond very imperfectly. It is useless to prune the lines to fit each other; the best one can do is to guess at the sense as near as may be.

Omitting then **δι'** before *αἷμ'* with Herm. and reading with Enger *ᾗ τις* for *ἥτις*, we may translate: . . . 'Thou hast put forth on thee as a flower a memorable stain of blood indelible; surely there was strife then in the house, a woe subduing the king.' **ἐρίδματος**, Epic compound from *ἐρι-*, 'exceedingly,' *δμα-*, 'to subdue.' This may be taken in default of better. [See Appendix VI.]

l. 1467. **ἀξύστατον,** 'that cannot be put together, arranged, settled,' and so of pain 'not to be allayed,' 'incurable.' Aristophanes playfully quotes the word (Nub. 1367) of Aeschylus himself, putting it (according to the best arrangement) in the mouth of an opponent; there it seems to mean 'rough,' 'uncouth,' 'boisterous,' lit. 'not to be settled or composed.' (Paley's 'incomparable' will not do at all; he misses the sense of the passage in the Clouds.)

l. 1469. 'The two sons of Tantalos' are, of course, Agamemnon and Menelaos.

l. 1470 seems to mean, 'and wieldest the sway like-minded of two women, that gnaws my heart,' i. e. 'and who bringest the power of two women equally imperious (Helena and Klytaemnestra) with men, causing such woe to me.'

l. 1472. *ἐννόμως* is the best supported reading, 'and standing over the body like a hateful raven, she boasts that her song is *just*.' But **ἐκνόμως**, reading of Farnese, is best sense, 'she boastfully sings a *tuneless* strain;' the harsh, discordant (*ἐκνόμως*), triumphant note of the raven makes a much better point.

l. 1476. **τριπάχυντον** (Bamberger's and H.'s correction for corrupt *τριπάχυιον*), 'thrice gorged,' explained below in *αἱματολοιχός*.

l. 1478. 'For 'tis he from whom bloodthirsty longing is nursed in the heart; before the old woe ceases, the new blood flows.' **νείρῃ**, 'in the heart,' unknown word. (Others *νείρᾳ = νειαίρᾳ*, Homeric adj. 'lowest,' agreeing with *γαστρί*; and Hesych. mentions *νείρη*, 'the belly,' which I have adopted, after Casaubon.)

l. 1480. **ἰχώρ**, Epic word for the ethereal blood of the gods. Here used for 'blood' simply.

l. 1481. **οἰκονόμον** (Schn., K.) is the best correction for *οἴκοις τοῖσδε*, 'haunting the house.'

l. 1483. **αἶνον**, cognate (internal) acc. to *αἰνεῖς*, 'a mighty Fate is he of whom thou tellest . . . an evil tale of woe accursed, insatiate.'

l. 1492. 'The spider's web' is of course the cloak in which he was caught and slain.

l. 1493. **ἐκπνέων** at the end of the anapaestic stanza must be pronounced as dissyllable; just as *θεῶν*, *πόλεως*, *βασιλέως*, are 1, 2, and 3 syllables respectively when required (synizezis).

l. 1494. After a pause at *ἐκπνέων*, the sentence is continued in a

burst of anguish, '(thou liest) alas! alas! on this base bed.' **κοίταν**, cognate acc.

l. 1495. **βελέμνῳ**, 'weapon.' It is generally called an axe, though more probably a dagger.

l. 1498. **μηδ' ἐπιλεχθῇς**, 'but do not think.' *ἐπιλέγομαι* is an Ionic word, used often in Herodotus for 'to think,' 'expect,' 'consider,' properly no doubt 'to say over to one's self.' This tense does not occur elsewhere, and has been suspected; but there is no more intrinsic difficulty in it than in the deponent *διελέχθην*, which is common.

μηδέ, 'but not,' is Epic; in Attic it was always *ἀλλὰ μή*. See Od. 5. 177, 10. 342.

l. 1501. 'The ancient bitter Avenger' is the personified spectre or spirit of justice, which makes demand for other blood in requital for blood shed. See Introduction, p. xii.

l. 1502. 'Who served the hideous banquet' of children to Thyestes.

l. 1504. 'Slaughtering a man for children,' lit. 'upon children,' i. e. the second victim (metaphorically) *upon* the first, that is to say, 'in vengeance for.'

l. 1507. **πῶ πῶ**; Lit. 'where? where?' Doric for *ποῦ*. The meaning is, 'Nay, nay!' just as in the colloquial word *πώμαλα*, 'not a bit.'

πατρόθεν δέ, 'yet from his sires an avenger might aid thee;' you are not innocent, but the ancestral avenger may have had a share in the bloodshed.

ll. 1510–12. Rather difficult and doubtful passage. It begins, 'Yet black havoc presses on, with streams of kindred slaughter (then MSS. read *ὅποι δὲ καὶ προβαίνων πάχνᾳ κουροβόρῳ παρέξει*, quite impossible Greek, though even Hermann tries to construe it; the easiest alteration is Butler's and Scholefield's *δίκαν* for *δὲ καί*, which I have taken), 'thither where advancing he shall give requital for the clot of the blood of children slain for food,' i. e. black havoc presses with murder in the family till he has avenged the murder of Thyestes' children. But one cannot feel much confidence about the reading or sense.

ll. 1521, 2. These lines are clearly spurious; the answer clearly begins *οὐδὲ γάρ*, the *οὔτε* is wrong, and the insertion spoils the sense of what follows.

l. 1525. **ἔρνος** is acc. after *δράσας*, which regularly takes acc. of person treated, *and* of the kind of treatment. 'But my offshoot sprung from him . . . as he hath dealt with her so hath he suffered.'

l. 1526. MSS. have *πολύκλαυτόν τ'*, where *τ'* is taken as marking apposition: better **πολυκλαύτην** Pors. **'Ιφιγενείαν**, older (dialectic) form with *α* long; so we find *εὐκλείᾱ, ἀγνοίᾱ, ἀνοίᾱ*, in Trag. and *ὑγιείᾱ* even in Com. (Ar. Av. 609). Hence there is no need to read with MSS. **'Ιφιγέ**-*νειαν ἀν- | άξια δράσας κ.τ.λ.* See next line.

l. 1527. ἄξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχων. A difficulty has been made with these lines from not seeing that the words are *correlative*, 'the deed was worthy (of the suffering), the suffering was worthy (of the deed).'

l. 1531. μέριμναν, acc. after στερηθεὶς (which verb takes naturally acc. of thing stolen), 'robbed of thought's ready devising.'

l. 1533. 'I fear the patter of bloody rain, that makes the house to totter; no longer it comes in drops.'

l. 1535. To say that 'Fate sharpens justice for another deed of harm' is quite intelligible, and the imagery quite Aeschylean. So the ordinary correction δίκην may be taken. At the same time the simpler phrase δίκη . . . θηγάναις μάχαιραν (Musgrave) is a rather tempting emendation.

l. 1540. δροίτη, 'bath;' χαμεύνη, 'low couch.'

l. 1544. αὑτῆς for σεαυτῆς, 1297.

l. 1545. ἄχαριν χάριν, 'a graceless gift' (*Mors.*).

l. 1548. 'And who shall utter his praise with tears over the tomb of the man divine, labouring in sincerity of heart.' The ἀλήθεια φρενῶν last and emphatic; it was so terribly absent in Klytaemnestra.

l. 1553. The prepositions as in 1410. 'Down he fell, down he lay, and down we will bury him.' Klytaemnestra is perhaps scornfully parodying the emphasis of the chorus. The absence of augment, and the assimilation of κατ-, is Epic.

l. 1554. Her bitterness and cruel triumph reach a climax in this terrible sarcasm, 'None of the house shall bewail him, . . . but his *dear daughter, as is fit*, shall meet and welcome him at the swift ferry-passage of woes.'

l. 1560. Notice how the last note of this long chorus is the darkness and inscrutability of fate; the inevitableness of the evil consequences of sin. ὄνειδος ἀντ' ὀνείδους, 'reviling for reviling;' the bitterness of Klyt.'s taunt saddens but does not now anger the chorus.

l. 1561. ''Tis hard to discern the right; she spoils the spoiler, the slayer pays his debt, but it remains—while Zeus remains on his throne—that the doer must suffer . . .'

l. 1562. φέρει φέροντ', a proverbial phrase, φέρω in the old sense φέρειν ἄγειν, 'to carry off booty.'

l. 1564. χρόνῳ is the MS. reading, which can only be construed with Klausen, 'while Zeus remains, it remains *in due time* that,' etc., and the order of the words is very harsh for this. Paley's rendering, 'while time remains and Zeus is lord,' is good sense, but hardly the Greek. It is better to read θρόνῳ with Schütz (so H., Schn., Eng., etc.)

l. 1565. γονὰν ἀραῖον (H.'s beautiful correction for ῥᾷον), 'the brood of curses.'

l. 1566. Again a certain correction πρὸς ἄτᾳ for the meaningless προσάψαι (ΑΨΑΙ into ΑΤΑΙ), 'the race is fast bound to woe.'

l. 1567. MSS. have ἐνέβη χρησμόν, some alter to ἐνέβης, which gives a poor sense; a far better one is got by altering χρησμόν to χρησμός, 'this maxim (that the doer shall suffer) has with truth trodden *him* (Agamemnon) down.'

l. 1569. Πλεισθενιδᾶν. Grammarians say that Pleisthenes was son of Atreus, and father of Agamemnon, but that as he died young, Agamemnon is usually called son of Atreus. It is certain that Agamemnon is son of Atreus in the Homeric tradition, which seems to be usually that of the later poets in this respect. Perhaps Pleisthenes belongs to another form of the story altogether, and Aeschylus merely uses his name for the *family*, just as he calls them sometimes Pelopidae, or Tantalidae.

l. 1570. 'Making compact that I will bear this, though hard to be borne, but that hereafter he shall go,' etc.

τάδε μὲν στέργειν. It is characteristic of Klytaemnestra's cold-blooded shamelessness that she speaks of '*bearing*' the trouble of the house, she the murderess. The tone is, 'We have been plagued enough, let the hard fate of the house go vex other families with kindred slaughter.'

l. 1573. αὐθέντης θάνατος, 'kin-murder.' See note on αὐτοφόνος, 1091.

l. 1574. The cold irony is at its height here, 'All I want is a quiet life and a humble competence, having cured the house of its *blood-feud*.'

[Exodos, *or last scene* (1577–1673). Aegisthos vaunts his part in the bloody deed, telling the tale of past deeds which have produced this: the chorus rebuke him, and mention the name of Orestes. The quarrel waxes hot, and violence is threatened, when Klytaemnestra intervenes and stops the strife.]

l. 1579. 'The gods look down on woes of earth, aiding mortals,' is perfectly good sense; no need to alter ἄχη into ἄγη.

l. 1582. 'Paying for the crafty crimes of his sire's hand' is explained in what follows; note that Atreus again is called πατήρ, not Pleisthenes.

l. 1585. ἀμφίλεκτος ὢν κράτει, 'being questioned in his sovereignty,' i. e. 'his power disputed.' ἀμφ. must be passive (cf. 881); the passage quoted for the active meaning, ἀμφίλεκτος ἔρις (Eur. Phoen. 500), proves nothing, as the passive meaning is quite possible there.

l. 1589. '(A lot secure), not to die and defile with his blood his native soil.' The MSS. read mostly αὐτοῦ, as the end of this sentence. Even if we construe it 'there on the spot,' it seems unfit and intolerably flat. (See however ἐμήν 14.) Further, the tribrach ξένια is ugly.

The probability is that it is a gloss, and one is strongly tempted to think with Schütz that the next line is spurious, and that 1590 originally ran **ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατὴρ πατρί.** See next note.

l. 1591. Probably spurious, *πατρί* belonging to 1590. 'More zealous than friendly,' is only possible as a joke, when applied to a man who under cover of a banquet murders his brother's children; and Aegisthos is not joking. Moreover, the jingle *προθύμως, εὐθύμως* is suspicious, the name *'Ατρεύς* needless, and the rejection of 1591 amends 1590 so neatly.

l. 1592. 'Feigning to celebrate with cheer a day of feasting.'

l. 1594. **κτένας,** properly 'combs,' here 'the fingers.' The word is used of a variety of things, ribs, hair, rakes, teeth, wherever the metaphor is natural.

l. 1595. The MS. reading will construe ... *ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος. ἄσημα δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοίᾳ λαβὼν κ.τ.λ.* 'The feet and hands he (Atreus) broke up small (*θρύπτω,* 'to crush,' used with *βώλακα, χιόνα κ.τ.λ., not* 'to break *off*,') sitting above, apart from the rest; but the undistinguishable parts he (Thyestes) taking in ignorance,' etc. And the antithesis between *τὰ μὲν ποδήρη* and *ἄσημα δ' αὐτῶν* (which, however, should probably be *τἄσημα*) is clear and natural, and at first sight seems a strong argument for the MS. reading. But the change of subject without any notice is very harsh, and the real antithesis to *τὰ μὲν ποδήρη* is probably understood in the rapid and vivid narrative. We must then take Hermann's **ἄσημ'· ὁ δ' αὐτῶν,** and very possibly *ἔκρυπτ'* for *ἔθρυπτ'*, with Casaubon. The sense will be: 'The feet and hands he broke up small (*or* hid on the dish, *ἔκρυπτ'*), sitting above and apart, so that none should know them (*ἄσημα,* proleptic); [the rest of the flesh he put on the dish]; but he in ignorance took thereof (*αὐτῶν* partitive, or perh. after *ἀγνοίᾳ*) and ate a meal fatal,' etc.

l. 1599. 'And falls back, spitting forth the slaughtered flesh.' I have taken Hartung's *ἀπὸ σφαγήν* with the MS. *ἐρῶν,* i. e. *ἀπερῶν σφαγήν,* from *ἀπ-ἐράω,* to 'spit or vomit forth.' Another compound, *ἐξεράω,* is used in Aristoph. for 'to disgorge.' *ἀπὸ σφαγήν* would be certain to get corrupted into *ἀπὸ σφαγῆς,* and *ἐράω* is transitive, and requires accusative. [*ἐρῶν* is defended by Prof. Goodwin.] This seems better than the common *ἀπὸ σφαγῆς ἐμῶν,* 'from the flesh vomiting.'

l. 1601. It is perhaps simplest to construe this, 'spurning the banquet *to aid* his curse.' **σύνδικος** being properly 'one who pleads with you,' 'an aider in the cause.' **συνδίκως** governs **ἀρᾷ** [the common rendering 'jointly,' is worse sense, and has no parallel in the usage of *σύνδικος*]. The violent crash of the banquet was the symbol (**οὕτως**) of the invoked destruction of the family. Such symbolism is common and natural in primitive times when good or evil is prophesied or invoked.

l. 1605. 'For me, the thirteenth child, he drives out with my hapless father.' This is the meaning of the MS. reading; but *ἐπὶ δέκ'* is almost certainly corrupt; the only traditions we have give at most three children to Thyestes, and the mention of the number seems so needless and inappropriate. I read with Schöm. *δυσαλθλίῳ. ἐπί* means lit. 'on,' i. e. 'along with.' It is rather needless with *συνεξελαύνει,* and hence the corruption.

l. 1611. All the MSS. (except Fa., which has been a good deal corrected) give **ἰδόντα**: the acc. is quite right after *τὸ κατθανεῖν,* in agreement with the subject. So Eur. Med. 814 *σοὶ δὲ συγγνώμη λέγειν τάδ' ἐστὶ μὴ πάσχουσαν ὡς ἐγὼ κακῶς.*

l. 1612. **σέβω,** 'honour,' understatement for 'approve.'

l. 1617. **νερτέρᾳ κώπῃ.** There were three benches or banks of rowers in a trireme, the *θαλαμῖται,* or lowest, with least work and pay; then the *ζυγῖται,* or middle; and finally, the *θρανῖται,* or highest bench. If *ζυγόν,* as is probable, refers to *ζυγῖται,* Aeschylus must be thinking of a bireme, where the *ζυγῖται* would be the highest. (Klausen.) The *νερτέρᾳ κώπῃ* is then the *θαλαμῖται.* 'Dost thou speak so, set to the lower oar, when those on the higher seat control the ship?'

l. 1620. **σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον,** 'when bidden to be prudent.' *εἰρημένον,* 'it being ordered,' acc. absolute, like *παρόν, δέον, ἐξόν, προσῆκον κ.τ.λ.,* the regular usage with impersonals.

l. 1621. **γῆρας,** acc. 'but to teach even the old, chains and hunger-pangs are excellent physicians of the mind.' (Two MSS. misunderstanding the constr. read *δεσμόν.*)

l. 1623. 'Hast eyes and seest not this?'

l. 1624. **παίσας** is found in a Scholiast's quotation of the line, and is in itself better than the other suggestion *πταίσας,* 'stumbling:' 'lest thou strike them and suffer.'

l. 1625. These three lines must be addressed to Aegisthos, for (1) Klyt. is not on the scene, being only summoned later by the noise to allay the tumult, (2) even if she was here the chorus have said their say to her (1373–1575), (3) it would sadly interrupt the scene to interpolate an appeal to the queen, when the point here is the rising exasperation between Aegisthos and the chorus. Taking Wieseler's *μένων* (for *νέον*) and *αἰσχύνας,* we may leave the rest: it is better than altering *τοὺς ἥκοντας.* 'Thou *woman,* didst thou abide at home waiting for the warrior's return, and having defiled the man's bed, devise this fate for the leader of the host?'

[If we retain *νέον* and *αἰσχύνουσ'* we must take the ordinary correction *τοῦδ' ἥκοντος*: but we must still, for the reasons given, suppose it addressed to Aegisthos: the fem. part. will then continue the taunt of *γύναι.*]

l. 1628. There is bitterness in the turgid expression **ἀρχηγενῆ**, 'the primal source of tears.'

l. 1631. 'Stirring our wrath with thy vain howling.'

l. 1632. **ἄξει**, passive, 'shall be dragged off,' another point of contrast with Orpheus. 'He was sweet-voiced, you howl like a dog; he dragged others after him, you shall be dragged away.'

l. 1633. **ὡς δὴ σύ**, lit. 'for of course you will be,' 'since surely you will be,' i. e. 'doubtless you will be,' ironical. So Soph. O. C. 809 *ὡς δὴ σὺ βραχέα ταῦτα δ' ἐν καιρῷ λέγεις.* Or it might be explained as an exclamation, 'how surely you will be!' also ironical.

l. 1637. 'I was of old suspected as a foe.'

l. 1640. **βαρείαις**, 'with heavy yoke.' *ζεύγλαις* understood from the verb. *οὐ μή* or *οὔτι μή*, properly used with subj. or future indic., e. g. *οὔ τι μὴ ληφθῶ*, 'no fear of my being caught.' *οὐ μή τις ἄξει* (Soph. O. C. 177), 'No chance of any one taking you away.' Hence it comes to be used as a very strong negative, and so we find it here negativing an adj. only. 'Surely no high-mettled trace-horse,' well fed and lightly caparisoned, but a heavily yoked one tamed by hunger. This may do: but as *οὐ μή* is generally used with verbs, the correction of Pauw, **οὔτι μοι**, seems better.

l. 1642. **μαλθακόν σφ' ἐπόψεται**, 'shall see him tamed.'

l. 1644. If we read *σύν* with the MSS., it is adverbial, an Epic usage not uncommon in poetry; *ἐν*, *πρός*, and others, are so used. But as Klyt. did not *share* the deed, but did it alone, *σύν* has been doubted. If it is right it must be used loosely to mean 'thy accomplice,' 'acting with thee.' But the correction **νιν** is more likely, and is adopted.

l. 1649. **δοκεῖς**, 'art resolved,' personal construction, see 16. **ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν**, 'to do and say such things,' no need for *κοὐ λέγειν*, as most edd. alter.

l. 1650. A line is lost here; 1650 must be given to Aegisthos (not the chorus, as MSS.), for 1651 is clearly an answer to it. **λοχῖται**, 'comrades,' are Aegisthos' bodyguard.

l. 1653. 'Die, thou sayest; we take the omen,' as Ken. well translates it. **τὴν τύχην δ' αἱρούμεθα**, 'and we take our good fortune.'

[*Klytaemnestra appears just as they are about to fight, and stills the tumult.*]

l. 1655. The order of the words points to taking **πολλά** as predicate, 'Even these are many to reap, a bitter harvest.' The commoner rendering, 'Even to reap these many woes is a bitter harvest,' is possible, but would rather require *τοσαῦτα*.

ll. 1657, 8. Very corrupt. I have taken Hermann's as the best emendation, **πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντες· ἀρκεῖν**

χρῆν κ.τ.λ., 'Go to your appointed homes, before ye suffer for your deeds.' It must be admitted that *πεπρωμένους* is suspicious.

l. 1659. Read with Hermann **δεχοίμεθ' ἄν.** The best sense seems to be, 'and if these troubles should be found sufficient, we would accept them, though grievously smitten with God's wrath.' (Hermann's *δ' ἔτ' οὐ* for *δέ τοι* is unhappy, it would be *μηκέτι*), i. e. 'if no further trouble occurs, we will be content.' A proudly conciliatory speech, meaning, 'we will forget this outbreak if you keep quiet for the future.'

l. 1662. 'Cull the flowers of a foolish tongue,' a characteristic Aeschylean figure. The accus. and inf. is exclamatory, 'But that these should . . .' i. e. 'the idea that they should . . .'

l. 1664. Blomfield ingeniously supplies **θ' ὑβρίσαι** for the missing three syllables.

l. 1666. **μέτειμι**, 'will visit it on thee.'

l. 1668. 'Exiles feed on hope;' in this scornful taunt there is dramatic irony, for those who know what is coming in the next play; the exile Orestes returns and slays the murderers.

l. 1669. 'Go on, and fatten, defiling justice; for thou hast the power.'

l. 1671. The cock was the 'home-fighting' bird (*ἐνδομάχας* Pind. Ol. 12. 13; *ἐνοίκιος ὄρνις* Eum. 866), and so is Aegisthos, who dares not fight abroad, but is only formidable on his own dunghill.

l. 1672. **προτιμάω** has a secondary meaning 'to care for,' and the construction follows the meaning; it takes gen. like *μέλει, φροντίζειν κ.τ.λ.*

APPENDICES.

I.

The Remote Deliberative.

Line 620. **οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλά.** All the commentators notice here the omission of *ἄν*: but perhaps the true character of the usage has been rather overlooked.

The fact is, that all the passages where commentators have regretted the want of *ἄν* in Attic Greek have one common character; they are all (not 'negative,' as Paley says, on a small induction, but) *interrogative*, either direct or indirect. The following is a list of those I can find:—

(1) Direct.

Soph. O. C. 170 *ποῖ τις φροντίδος ἔλθοι*; (sic Laur. Cod.)
„ Ant. 604 *τέαν Ζεῦ δύνασιν τις ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι*; (sic Codd.)
„ Phil. 895 *τί δῆτα δρῷμ' ἐγώ*;
Ar. Plut. 438 *ποῖ τις φύγοι*;
Plat. Gorg. 492 B *τί κάκιον εἴη*;
Aesch. Choeph. 595 *τίς λέγοι*;

(2) Indirect.

Aesch. Ag. 620 *οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι.*
„ P. V. 292 *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ μείζονα μοῖραν νείμαιμι.*
„ Cho. 172 *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πλὴν ἐμοῦ κείραιτό νιν.*
Eur. Alc. 52 *ἔστ' οὖν ὅπως Ἄλκηστις ἐς γῆρας μόλοι*;
Plat. Euthyd. 296 D *οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἀμφισβητοίην.*
Soph. O. C. 1172 *καὶ τίς ποτ' ἐστίν, ὅν γ' ἐγὼ ψέξαιμί τι*; also closely resembles these and should be classed with them.

[It is true that (2) are not strictly interrogative in form: but just as *οὐκ ἔχει τί εἴπῃ* (and even *ἔχει ὅ, τι εἴπῃ*) are allowed by analogy or extension of usage from the strict interrogative form *οὐκ οἶδεν* or *οἶδεν ὅ, τι εἴπῃ*, so these instances are really the interrogative optative put obliquely.]

Of these the two prose instances (from Plato) should probably be emended by insertion of *ἄν*, which may easily have dropped out. Perhaps also in Phil. 895 we should read *τί δῆτ' ἄν*. But the rest I see no reason to suspect.

Now it must be plain, considering these examples all in a lump, that what they *vary from* is not the optative with *ἄν*, but the interrogative subjunctive, or, as it is usually called, the *deliberative*. The subjunctive

might be substituted for the optative in all these instances: and in the first two it is usually so read, though against the best MS. authority.

The difficulty then is this: not why *ἄν* is omitted, for the sentences are not conditional; but why the *remote* form (optative) is used instead of the *primary* form (subjunctive), when the sentences are all of a *primary* character.

The answer is that the optative expresses the remoteness, not as usual (e.g. in past final, or past indefinite, or past deliberatives) of *pastness*, but of possibility: the instinct is to express by optative something *more out of the question* than the subjunctive would have expressed.

It is not probable that there was any clearly felt distinction in sense between the three uses *τίς κατάσχῃ*; *τίς ἂν κατάσχοι*; and *τίς κατάσχοι*; All that can be said is that *τίς κατάσχοι*; gives rather a *wider scope* to the range of possibility than *τίς κατάσχῃ*; something like the difference between 'who can?' and 'who could?'; the latter suggesting that it is more out of the question.

II.

τόπος, τοπή, τοπάω, τὸ πᾶν.

Mr. A. W. Verrall, in a very ingenious paper in the Journal of Philology (9. 115), has endeavoured to show that a family of words—*τόπος*, *τοπή*, and *τοπάω*, all connected with *τοπάζω*, and meaning 'conjecture,' 'divination,' 'discovery' (the verb 'to divine' or 'discover')—has disappeared from many places in our texts, owing to various corruptions, such as *τρόπος* for *τόπος*, *τὸ πᾶν* for *τοπάν* or *τοπᾶν*, etc.

In the course of his argument he deals with the following passages from Agamemnon:—

(1) 161–176.
(2) 681–99 sqq.
(3) 992–3.

In (1) (besides many other emendations) he would read in 174–5:—

Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλᾴζων
τεύξεται φρενῶν τοπάν,

which he construes, 'but he that prophetically nameth (*κλᾴζων* for *κλῄζων*) Zeus by titles of victory shall be right in thus divining his character.'

In (2) he would read in 681 *ὧδ' ἐς τοπὰν ἐτητύμως*, 'with so true a prophecy' (with such literal truth in respect of his divination).

In (3) he would read οὐ τοπᾶν ἔχων ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος, 'unable to discover the welcome assurance of hope.'

After carefully considering his arguments, I must own that in all three passages I prefer the MS. reading. (1) Κλάζων can quite well be used of a loud utterance (cp. 48, 201): and τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν, 'shall find wisdom altogether,' is a better sense than the one proposed. Indeed 'divining his character' is a totally inappropriate expression; there is no 'divination of character' in piously calling Zeus 'the Victor:' and for the meaning given to προφρόνως there is no authority whatever.

In (2) the emendation is less unlikely: but even there τοπή does not seem quite the right word, as it should properly mean 'conjecture' as opposed to 'knowledge,' and not 'prophecy;' it is properly applied to *finding out truth* by guessing, not *foretelling* it; and the MSS. ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως, 'altogether truly' (not 'on the whole,' as Mr. Verrall says, which is quite different, but like πάνυ or παράπαν), seems perfectly satisfactory.

In (3) τοπᾶν θράσος, 'to discover assurance,' is not at all a happy phrase, while οὐ τὸ πᾶν is just what is wanted to express the misgiving constantly recurring, in spite of the king having just returned triumphant and safe: 'not having to the full hope's happy courage,' as K. translates it.

On the whole therefore I cannot agree in Mr. Verrall's proposed emendations as far as the Agamemnon is concerned. Still I am bound to say that I feel, not merely that the *a priori* probability is great that the τοπή, τοπάω, etc. would disappear from our texts in some places, but also that in some of the passages where he would restore them there is much to be said for the restoration.

III.

Lines 1228 sqq. Mr. H. A. J. Munro (Journal of Philol. xi. 130) has discussed this passage, and rejects Madvig's emendation as too violent. He defends the accusative οἷα after τεύξεται: and in objecting to this I think I was wrong. I still feel however that the sentence as a whole is so harsh as to be very suspicious: οἷα is a long way from τεύξεται: and the other objections seem to me to hold. If οἷα is taken with λέξασα, τεύξεται is unsatisfactory: the things she 'says' and 'obtains' are different.

Mr. Munro's δοκήν for δίκην (with all respect be it spoken for so high an authority), I cannot feel to be likely. 'Lengthening out the ambush of a dark crime'—a version which puts a strain on ἄτη,—is so violent a phrase as to be hardly better than the MSS. text. It gives a construction to ἐκτείνασα, it is true: but the sense and diction is intolerably harsh.

IV.

Line 1267. Mr. Munro (Journal of Philol. xi. 139) discusses this line also, and objects to Mr. Verrall's emendation that it should be δέ not τε, and that πεσόντα goes with ἴτε better. I do not see why, as the actions of throwing and trampling are similar in kind and in quick succession, the close conjunction τε is not admissible, though in form one of the verbs is imperative and the other future. The participle πεσόντα seems to me also possible and natural: the things first fell, and then were trampled on. My translation 'as ye lie' was a little free: and I have given 'as ye fall' instead. The meaning is the simple one that one act came just after the other, and the aorist part. is surely common for the first of two such acts.

V.

Further Notes of Readings.

97. λέξαι σ' . . . αἰνῶ Marg.
105. καταπνε·ει (letter erased) M. καταπνεύει B. Fa. Fl. καταπνείει Ald.
275. σέβοιμι Marg.
289. σκοποῖς Schütz; not unlikely.
350. σὴν ὄνησιν Marg.
368. τοῦτο γ' Fa. τοῦτ' Fl.
536. αὐτόχθον' ὃν Klausen.
684. προνοίαις MSS. corr. Pauw.
931. εἶκε Marg.
965. μηχανωμένη Aur.
1117. ἀκόρετος Bothe.
1416. εὐτόκοις Fl. Fa. εὐπόκοις (corrected) V.
1531. εὐπαλάμων μεριμνᾶν Enger. [Possibly right.]
1605. ἔλιπε κἀθλίῳ Marg. αὐτὸν ὄντα μ' ἀθλίῳ Weckl.

VI.

1455–61. Most edd. following Hermann regard this song as the strophe to which 1537–50 is the antistrophe. There are resemblances: but to make the correspondence complete we have to suppose four and a half lines lost out of the first song, and to emend considerably the last three lines of both.

Wecklein (following Burney's suggestion) meets the difficulty by assuming that the song 1455–61 is *repeated* after 1474, and the similar

chant 1537-50 is repeated after 1566. This is very ingenious: and it is strongly supported by the fact that the similar chant ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ 1489 is so repeated in the text. But there are the following serious difficulties, in the *sense*:

(1) The first chant 1455-61 is a lament for the disastrous consequences of Helen's sin: and this is *answered* by Klyt. (1464). The repetition of it after the answer seems unlikely.

(2) The Chorus 1467 reply by a reference to the Fate of the house: and Klyt. answers νῦν δ' ὤρθωσας . . . which she could hardly do *after* the chant objected to had been repeated.

(3) If ἰὼ γᾶ γᾶ is also repeated, there are similar difficulties: for then τίς ὁ θάψων νιν (1541) would be repeated after Klyt.'s reply 1554: and the reference to the χρησμός 1568 would be much blurred by the *refrain coming between* the maxim (1564) and Klyt.'s reply (1567).

VII.

On line 1372, *and the* ἐκκύκλημα.

In Hermathena (vol. xi, No. 26, p. 132) Mr. C. Exon has published a new suggestion (developing ideas started by Emil Reisch, in *das Griechische Theater*, 1896), as to the working of the ἐκκύκλημα. Instead of being a rectangular platform pushed forward through the door, (which would be a very rude device to show the interior, and in particular could not contain, as here required, Apollo, Orestes and twelve sleeping Furies), Mr. Exon imagines a much larger *semicircular* platform, *revolving* on a central pivot, the straight side attached to the *back* of the stage-wall, of which a portion was movable. If this platform was turned (thro' 180°), the detachable part of the wall would again fit into its place, and the whole semicircle would project *in front* of it (instead of being *behind it* as before). This would keep the illusion of *its being the interior* far better than the old theory; and the difficulty of this passage, which has hitherto found no satisfactory solution, would be removed. It is an additional point in favour of this theory, that the scholiasts use various phrases, ἀνοίγεται ἡ σκηνή, περιστρέφεται τὸ ἐκκύκλημα, στραφέντα τὰ μηχανήματα, which are all more applicable to a *revolving* platform, than to one pushed straight out and straight in.

The platform is described as 'high' (ὑψηλόν, Pollux iv. 21) and this need only mean 'above the level of the stage'—which would increase the illusion of its being an interior.

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GRAMMATICAL INDEX.

a. Cases and Prepositions.

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INDEX OF NAMES.

THE END.

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